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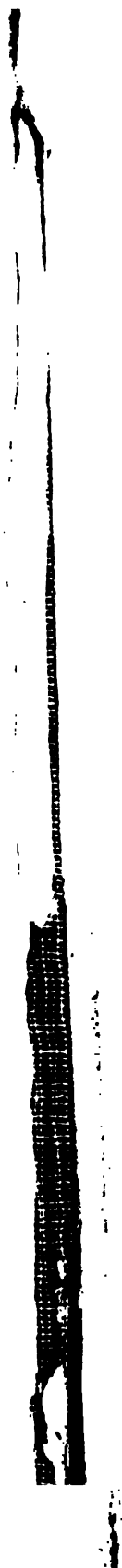
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THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

1493-1898

The PHILIPPINE ISLANDS 1493-1898

Explorations by Early Navigators, Descriptions of the Islands and their Peoples, their History and Records of the Catholic Missions, as related in contemporaneous Books and Manuscripts, showing the Political, Economic, Commercial and Religious Conditions of those Islands from their earliest relations with European Nations to the close of the Nineteenth Century

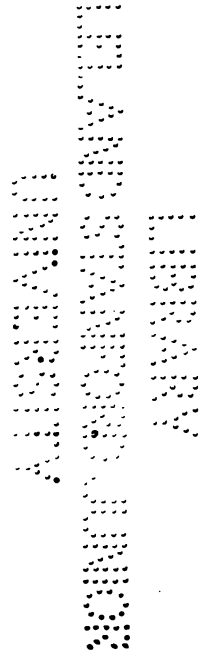
TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINALS

Edited and annotated by EMMA HELEN BLAIR and
JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON, with historical introduction and additional notes by EDWARD GAYLORD
BOURNE. With maps, portraits and other illustrations

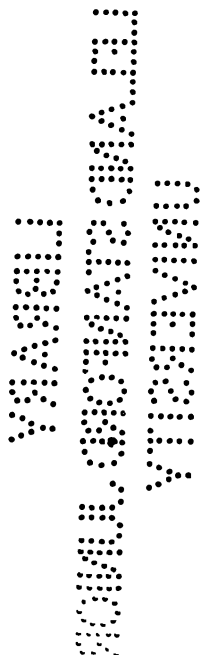
Volume XII—1601-1604



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MCMIV



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PREFACE

The general documents contained in this volume cover the years 1601-03; they are followed by Chirino's *Relacion*, which was published in 1604, but the events related therein end in 1602. The two notable occurrences in this period are the great fire, and the Chinese revolt in Manila in the year 1603 – the latter ending in the slaughter or expulsion of almost all the Chinese in the islands. Pirates are still raiding the shores of the northern islands; but the available forces of the colonial government are diverted to the assistance of an expedition from India which attempts (but unsuccessfully) to drive the Dutch from the Spice Islands. Commercial difficulties still affect the prosperity of the islands, caused mainly by the unauthorized share of Mexican speculators in the profitable trade between the Philippines and China; and various expedients are proposed for the regulation of this commerce. The great fire is a heavy blow to the Spanish colony, and the people fear the vengeance of the Chinese for the slaughter of their countrymen. The new archbishop of Manila complains that the religious orders are in much need of inspection and reform; some neglect the Indians to whom they should be missionaries, others keep the infidel Chinese on their lands, and allow the Indians

to be corrupted by the vices of the former. After the Chinese revolt is quelled, vigorous protests are sent to the home government, especially by the ecclesiastics, against the laxity hitherto prevailing in the enforcement of the laws restricting Chinese migration to the islands.

These documents are followed by the noted and rare work of the Jesuit Pedro Chirino, *Relacion de las Islas Filipinas* (Roma, 1604). It is mainly intended as a history of the missions in the islands conducted by the Jesuits, begun in 1581; Chirino himself arrived there in 1595, and gives a full and detailed account of the missions from that time until his departure in 1602. Not only this, but he narrates many things of interest and importance regarding the people, their customs and character, their language and state of civilization, their religious beliefs and worship, and the results of missionary labors and influence upon them. Much of this information is of special value as one of the earliest records regarding the Filipino peoples in their primitive condition, before they had had much contact with the white men; for the Jesuits went even beyond the outposts of Spanish civilization, among tribes who sometimes had never seen white men before. Chirino's *Relacion* is here presented for the first time in an English dress; and the Editors are fortunate in securing for this publication some valuable annotations from the hand of Rev. Pablo Pastells, S.J., of Barcelona, Spain, who was for some eighteen years superior of the Jesuit missions in the Philippines. Chirino's work is begun in the present volume, and will be concluded in VOL. XIII.

The presence of Van Noordt's fleet in the Oriental

archipelago renders the Spaniards apprehensive that their possessions therein may be attacked, especially that of the rich Spice Islands. Accordingly the viceroy of India determines to send a fleet to drive out the Dutch from those seas; and (May 5, 1601) notifies Tello of this. On September 1, 1602, a council of war is held at Manila, which decides to furnish aid for this expedition against the Dutch; its commander has already captured and subjugated Amboyna. This is followed by a list of the supplies furnished to the Portuguese fleet; their value amounts to over twenty-two thousand pesos, including eight months' pay for two hundred soldiers and a number of seamen. An official statement (dated October 2) enumerates the proceedings of the Manila authorities in raising these troops and supplies, and notifies the Portuguese envoys to be ready to convey this aid to the fleet. On October 26, Governor Acuña writes to the king a report on the piracies committed by the Moros. They have made several successful raids, and it is necessary to provide defenses for the islands against these attacks. An expedition had been planned against the Moro pirates; but the governor and his military advisers have deferred it, for the sake of aiding the Maluca expedition. Acuña is going to Arevalo, to despatch the ships and men for that purpose. He is doing all in his power to aid the enterprise, but fears that it will be a failure. Acuña asks permission to aid sick and needy soldiers from the royal treasury.

Alonso Fernandez de Castro, a lawyer, furnishes (1602?) a paper containing "principal points in regard to the trade of the Filipinas." He notes the decrees forbidding Mexicans and Peruvians to trade

with the islands, and their violation; the result of this illegal trade is disastrous to Spanish commerce. Complaint is made that the appointments of officers for the ships are made in Mexico, thus causing great and unnecessary expense. The ships lost in the Philippine trade, and the causes of such loss are enumerated; and the kinds of merchandise therein are mentioned. The citizens of the Philippines are discontented at the partial diversion of their trade to the American colonies. A violation of the royal decrees is interpreted by the Mexicans to be not a mortal sin, accordingly they disregard them; Castro advises more leniency in both the prohibition and the penalty. Some ecclesiastics recommend that the Holy See be asked to decide whether such transgression be a mortal sin. The viceroy of Mexico has ordered an increased duty on goods coming from the Philippines, to pay the cost of soldiers and artillery to guard the merchandise on the voyage. The trading vessels lost in the Pacific are being replaced by new ones built at Acapulco; and the viceroy has sent over some ships "in trust" of private persons – a plan which is censured. Mexico should not be allowed to trade with the South American colonies in Chinese goods.

A group of documents on commerce (*ca.* 1602), although somewhat fragmentary, contain much interesting information regarding the trade between Spain and her colonies. Fray Martin Ignacio de Loyola, bishop of Rio de la Plata, writes his opinion regarding colonial administration in the Spanish empire. The colonies should be kept in a dependent and subordinate position, and their high officials should be sent from Spain. Commerce should be maintained between the colonies and the mother-

country. At present the conditions and results of this trade are ruinous. Loyola advocates the establishment at Manila of a "consulate" of trade, like that at Mexico; strict prohibition of Mexican participation in the China trade; and its monopoly by the inhabitants of the Philippines. Letters from the viceroy of Mexico state that the merchants of Peru who trade with Spain are being ruined, on account of the long time during which they must wait for returns on their money, and the excessive duties charged on their goods. As a result, they are sending their goods to Mexico; and they demand permission to trade direct with China. Monterey recommends that this be allowed to a limited extent, and that no restrictions be placed on the use of Chinese goods in Nueva España. He has used severe measures in regard to infringements of the ordinances regarding commerce, but there is evidently remissness in the customs inspection at Manila. Another paper gives an abstract of certain points in a petition sent from the Philippines. It is requested that the officers of vessels trading with Nueva España be inhabitants of the islands; that no space in the ships be sold; that Peruvian merchants be not allowed to go to the Philippines; that the troops be paid from a special and separate account; and that the lading of the trading ships be placed in charge of the Manila cabildo. All these points are commented upon by certain bishops whose advice is apparently requested by the Council of the Indies. Various memoranda follow, on the trade between the Philippines and Nueva España; these include recommendations for a commercial consulate at Manila, diminished coinage of money, allowance of a limited

amount of trade to Peru, government custom-houses at Acapulco and Manila, etc. A letter from Morga (December 1, 1602) informs the king that Governor Acuña has aided the expedition sent from India to seize Maluco; and that some of the trading ships sent to Nueva España have returned without crossing the ocean, after great losses by storms, and having risked seizure on the Japanese coast.

In May, 1603, three Chinese mandarins visit Manila. Salazar y Salcedo, the fiscal, informs the king of this, and sends him a translation of the letter presented by the mandarins to the governor (in which they explain that they have come in search of a mountain of gold, of which report had reached them); also a copy of the complaint made by the fiscal to the Audiencia regarding the manner in which these mandarins have administered justice, according to their own usages, to the Chinese residing in Manila. The governor forbids them to continue such procedure, and takes measures to fortify the city against possible Chinese invasion.

Fray Miguel de Benavides resigns his bishopric (July 4), to become archbishop of Manila. On the next day he reports to the king his arrival at Manila, and the present condition of affairs in the islands, which is very disheartening. The Mindanao pirates have ravaged the coasts, and carried away many captives. The richest part of the city, including the merchandise stored in the warehouses, has been destroyed by fire; and the ships from Mexico arrived too late for the merchants to ship goods thither this year. The people are full of anxiety over a possible war with the Chinese; and the archbishop deprecates the laxity of the royal officials in allowing so many

Chinese to live in the islands. They are so numerous that their presence is a menace to the Spaniards, and they are corrupting the natives with their own vicious practices. He urges that most of the Chinese be expelled from the islands, and that the conduct of the civil officials be investigated and punished. On the next day, he writes another letter to ask that certain matters in the islands be set right. The trade upon which the people depend for support is being taken from them by unscrupulous Spaniards from Mexico and Peru. The archbishop has been urged to excommunicate those citizens of Manila who are engaged in this illegal traffic, but refuses to do so, not thinking this the right procedure in such a case; and his efforts to secure redress from the Audiencia are fruitless. He also complains that offices are given to friends of the auditors; that the latter and their women-folk monopolize the best seats in the church; and that various irregularities have crept into the church at Manila. Benavides criticises the religious orders in the islands, saying that they often neglect their duties to the Indians; and asks that the friars be not allowed to leave their charges at their own pleasure. The Dominicans and Franciscans maintain strict discipline, but neglect the Indians. The Augustinians are in great need of inspection and reform. The Jesuits lead exemplary lives, and are excellent instructors; but the Indians complain that these fathers have taken from them their lands and property. Benavides asks the king to redress this wrong. They also keep infidel Chinese on these lands, who are corrupting the Indians. The bishop demands that he shall be consulted by the governor in regard to the assignment of charges to the religious

orders; and that priests shall be tried not by the Audiencia, but by the ecclesiastical courts. He asks various favors for the city and its people, and that military aid be sent to the island from Mexico. The cathedral needs repairs, and the episcopal residence is very small and inadequate to the archbishop's needs. The Jesuits should not be allowed to have a university, nor to obtain the funds which were given by the old soldiers in order to make restitution to the conquered Indians.

The Audiencia of Manila make a report (July 2, 1603) of various matters and events. Two new auditors have arrived at Manila, and Morga is transferred to Mexico. They recount the dangers and the safe return of the ship "Rosario" from Japan; and the losses incurred by fire at Manila, half of the city being destroyed. They note various matters about which they have received the royal commands, the most important of these referring to the personal services rendered by the Indians—which, the Audiencia state, are exacted only when necessary, and then paid for at fair rates. Two days later (July 4) the fiscal advises the king that it would be well to make the archbishop of Manila the president of the Audiencia—a request which is ignored by the government. Acuña notifies the king (July 20, 1603) of the failure of the Portuguese expedition against Maluco, and urges that the king take prompt measures to conquer that fort.

On November 29, 1603, the king sends instructions to Acuña to deport the Chinese residing in the islands, and to restrict the immigration of others, until no more than three thousand are left—these to be only such workmen as are needed for the service of the

country. As a result of various restrictions imposed upon them, the Chinese revolt (October 9) and attack Manila; but the Spaniards subdue them after several sharp engagements, many of the Chinese being slain, and the ringleaders are executed. One of the Jesuits in Manila, Gregorio Lopez, writes to the king (December 10, 1603) to ask for reënforcements to be sent to the islands, in order that the Mindanao pirates may be driven back; they are raiding the Visayan Islands, and endangering the existence of the Christian communities formed there by the Jesuit missionaries. A letter from the cabildo of the cathedral (December 11) informs the king of the revolt of the Chinese, and the subsequent conflagration in Manila. The Dominican provincial complains (December 15) that the colony is going to destruction because the royal decrees have not been observed, especially those restricting Chinese immigration, and calls for a rigorous investigation of the conduct of the colonial authorities – to be made preferably by an ecclesiastic. Bishop Benavides writes, at the same time, a brief letter to the king, similar in tenor to that of the provincial. With his commendation of Fray Diego de Guevara to the king go other credentials for that envoy. Letters relating the events of the Chinese insurrection are sent to Spain by the governor and the Audiencia (December 12 and 18, 1603). The fortifications of Manila are being pushed forward, and an envoy has been sent to China to explain the recent revolt and its punishment. Acuña has also endeavored to procure military supplies from that country to supply the present deficiency; he dreads lest the trade with China may be cut off, which would ruin the Philippine colony.

Acuña has enlisted several military companies among the Indians, who have done good service in quelling the Sangley insurrection. He recounts his difficulties in equipping a small fleet for the defense of the islands. The Mindanao pirates have again raided the islands; but the Chinese insurrection made it necessary to recall the troops who had been sent to check the pirates. Acuña relates the chief events of the past year in the Mindanao campaign, and the present state of affairs there. He complains of the lack of funds, and entreats that money be promptly sent from Nueva España. A postscript to this letter, dated December 23, asks that the conduct of the royal officials at Manila be investigated, as they had illegally allowed so many Chinese to take up residence there.

The chronological order of our narrative is here interrupted to survey the course of the Jesuit missions as related by Pedro Chirino in his *Relacion de las Islas Filipinas*. After a brief prefatory note, he begins by describing the location of the islands and their discovery and settlement by Spaniards. The finding of the Santo Niño in Cebú in 1565 is related at length, with an account of the miracles and the veneration connected with it; and the patron saints invoked by the Spaniards are enumerated. Among these is especially prominent St. Potenciana, chosen as their patron and protector against hurricanes. Chirino briefly describes the dress, customs, and character of the natives, and the game, fish, and fruits which serve them as food; and, at some length, the wonderful bamboo plant. He enumerates the imports into the Philippines from surrounding countries, and the occupations of the people therein who

come to the islands; and praises the wealth and comfort of that region.

Chirino then mentions the coming to the islands of the various religious orders, especially recounting the labors and privations of his own order, the Jesuits, and the beginning of their settlement at Manila. Five priests, with one lay brother, are the founders of that work; Suarez dies from overwork, Sanchez goes back to Europe, and Sedeño conducts the affairs of the mission – laboring for the good of the colony in all matters, both spiritual and secular. The Jesuits exert considerable influence over the Chinese and Japanese who come to Manila. In chapter vi are enumerated the names of the larger islands in the Filipinas, and their extent is compared with that of Spain.

Chirino next defines the bishoprics and religious provinces in the islands – inserting in this account a description of the process of tattooing; and proceeds to relate how the Jesuits extended their labors to the Indian villages outside of Manila. In the district of Balayan, they have baptized some seven thousand natives within ten years. The village of Taitai is removed, by Chirino's influence and the superstitious fears of the natives, to a more secure and healthful site. He describes the customs of the natives in bathing, which is a universal and frequent practice among them. On the shore of the lagoon of Bai are hot springs, which have already become a noted health resort. Various trees native to the islands are described at length, as well as the Chinese method of reducing a large tree to a dwarf pot-plant. Interesting particulars are given regarding the Bisayans and Negritos who inhabit Panay, and of a petty war

between those peoples. The Jesuits have done excellent missionary work there, in the district of Tigbauan; some particulars of this are related. One of their number, Martin Henríquez, dies from overwork, and Chirino is ordered to return to Manila. In June, 1595, eight more Jesuits come with Morga; and the missions of the order are now extended into Cebú, Leyte, and Samar. A chapter is devoted to the pious labors and death of Father Antonio Sedeño. In 1596 a large reënforcement of Jesuits arrives at the islands, headed by Francisco de Vera; and the work of the order there receives new impetus. The missionaries in all the religious orders are able to master the native languages with so little difficulty that "it seems a gift from heaven." Chirino gives some account of these, illustrated with specimens of three—Tagalan, Harayan, and Visayan—with the alphabet used by the Filipinos. He also praises the politeness, in word and act, of the Tagalos, and gives them credit for much musical ability. A chapter is assigned to the native alphabet and mode of writing. All, women as well as men, write and read; and they have already learned to do so in the Spanish language as well as in their own.

Chirino relates the progress of the Jesuit mission during the year 1596-97. The curriculum of the Manila college is enlarged, and its church (which is described in detail) is completed. A minute account is given of a nine days' fiesta in honor of the relics of saints which are deposited in the church. At this time is begun the practice of self-scourging as a voluntary penance. The Jesuit church is frequented by the Indians in great numbers, not only on special occasions, but throughout the year; and they display

the utmost devotion, even forming among themselves a confraternity in honor of the relics. Their piety shows practical results, especially in the modesty and virtue of their women, qualities which the heathen neither value nor desire; Chirino narrates some instances of triumphant virtue. An account is given of the foundation and progress of the girls' seminary of Santa Potenciana: and of the various ministrations of the Jesuits in the hospitals and elsewhere in Manila. The writer relates the methods of conducting the mission of Taytay, and events there during the year 1597. Three fine churches are erected, and the missionaries gain the good-will not only of those Indians, but even of the savages in the mountains; the taming and conversion of one of these, the fiercest of his tribe, is narrated. After him, entire villages come to live near the mission, the father in charge helping them to establish their homes there; he even converts all the heathen priests of one tribe. Not only the Tagalos but the Negrillos resort to the mission, and many are converted. Chirino laments the idolatries and superstitions which still linger among even the more civilized natives; and proceeds to recount their religious and superstitious beliefs. All their religion is based on tradition and custom, and is handed down in songs. Their beliefs regarding gods, demons, etc., are mentioned; Chirino reduces most of these to their adoration of their ancestors, in whose honor they worship various images. They also worship animals, birds, and other natural objects; and have many superstitions. Chirino demolishes the little buildings dedicated to the anitos. Among those people their priests are also their physicians, or "medicine-men;" and in both rôles they

deceive the credulous and ignorant votaries of superstition. The mode of offering sacrifices is described. In the mission village at Taytay, certain idolatrous rites have been secretly practiced, under the influence of the heathen priestesses; but this is revealed by the faithful among the natives to the missionaries, who promptly eradicate the evil and demolish the idols. All the heathen priestesses are converted, and now lead exemplary Christian lives.

Chirino remains alone in Cebú after Sedeño's death (1595). He not only maintains the usual services in the Jesuit church there, but undertakes to instruct the Chinese, whose language he soon learns sufficiently for that purpose. He works in great harmony with the Augustinians of the city, who aid him in times of need; and with those of other orders who sometimes come to Cebú. In September, 1596, some of the recently-arrived Jesuits are assigned to that city, and great activity ensues in their mission, including a school for children. The Jesuits extend their labors to Leyte, which island is described by Chirino; he praises the hospitality and fraternal feeling which prevail among its people. Five mission stations are established there, and many conversions are secured. A sketch of the mission labors for 1597 in each of these posts is given — Dulac, Carigara, Paloc, Alangalang, and Ogmuc. In Dulac a church is erected, and a school opened, and many are converted. The station at Carigara is also flourishing, and especial mention is made of two remarkable conversions there, one of a boy five years old. At Paloc the fathers encounter some dislike, apparently inspired by the heathen priests; but this is soon replaced by affection and religious ardor. Some mi-

raculous cures occur here. At Alangalang, Cosmo de Flores forms a large mission village from many scattered hamlets; but dies soon after its foundation. The fathers are welcomed in Ogmuc, and a school for the children is at once begun; they are delighted at the cleverness and docility of these little ones. Many of those people are converted, including several chiefs.

Here Chirino again digresses to an account of "marriages, dowries and divorces among the Filipinos." He "had lived in the Filipinas almost ten years" before he knew that some of the natives practiced polygamy, which was not a custom in Manila, Panay, and other islands where the Spaniards had long dwelt, but had some currency among the Visayans. In certain parts of Mindanao, the woman has two husbands; but monogamy is the prevailing custom of the archipelago. The first degree of consanguinity is the only one which bars marriage. Various betrothal and marriage ceremonies are described, and their usage regarding dowries and divorces. Chirino thinks that polygamy in those islands has been derived from the "cursed doctrine" of Mahomet.

He next relates the entrance of the Jesuit missionaries into the island of Ibabao (now Samar); they find the people well disposed toward the Christian faith, and soon have churches and schools established. On one occasion, all the people of the island of Maripipi come to the fathers for baptism, and receive it, as they show themselves well prepared for it. A mission is begun at Catubig, in the eastern part of Samar; but for lack of workers it has not been maintained. Another mission has been established in

Bohol, where their efforts are greatly aided by the prevalence of monogamy among the people, who suddenly abandon their idols and drunken feasts.

Chirino here describes the funeral and mortuary customs generally prevalent in the islands. The natives practice a sort of embalming of the dead. The dead person is usually buried in the lower part of his own house; and the funeral is succeeded by feasting and carousing—the immediate relatives, however, fasting. At the death of a chief, a curious taboo is placed upon the entire village, silence being imposed upon all, under penalty of death. If a man be slain by violence, his death is avenged by his relatives, the innocent as well as the guilty being slain by them. Chirino draws curious parallels to all these customs from the history of various nations, as recorded by both sacred and profane writers. He devotes a chapter to the description of “feasting and intoxication among the Filipinos.” They eat little and drink much; but, even when intoxicated, they do not become frenzied or incapable.

The labors of Jesuit missionaries in the island of Bohol are further recounted. They find the people unusually well disposed toward the Christian religion, and very earnest and devout; all their idolatrous and immoral practices are soon abandoned, lest they displease the missionaries. Many are converted, and in an epidemic the lives of these Christians are preserved by their using holy water as a medicine.

Chirino gives some description of the island of Mindanao and its characteristics. He praises the bravery of its people, of which he relates some instances. The Jesuits Ledesma and Martínez open

a mission in the southern part of the island, and soon obtain many conversions, including those of several chiefs; the circumstances of some of these are narrated. Juan del Campo and a lay brother accompany Figueroa on his expedition to the Rio Grande of Mindanao, where the governor is slain; soon after, the priest dies, of whose life and virtues Chirino gives a brief sketch.

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THE EDITORS

February, 1904.

DOCUMENTS OF 1601-1602

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Letter to Felipe III. Antonio de Morga; December 1, 1602.

SOURCE: All these documents are obtained from the Archivo general de Indias – from MSS., except the second, which is a rare printed pamphlet.

TRANSLATIONS: The first document is translated by Henry B. Lathrop, of the University of Wisconsin; the second, by José M. and Clara M. Asensio, and Emma Helen Blair; the third, by James A. Robertson; the fourth, by Norman F. Hall, of Harvard University.

EXPEDITION TO THE MALUCAS ISLANDS

LETTER FROM THE VICEROY OF INDIA TO THE GOVERNOR OF THE PHILIPINAS

In addition to the necessary occasion for the service of his Majesty which has arisen, I have desired an opportunity for your Lordship's service since, by command of his Majesty, I assumed the governorship of this state.¹ My chief instruction was to put an end to the navigation of the Hollanders in all these regions of the South, their commerce being injurious to the service of God and of his Majesty, and to his Majesty's vassals. As this was the most important thing, I did not fail to undertake it, as soon as I took possession of this state, although I lacked all kinds of needful supplies. But, putting God before me, that I might with His aid prosecute

¹ The viceroy of India from May, 1591 to May, 1597 was Matias de Albuquerque; he was succeeded by Francisco da Gama, Conde de Vidiguera, a grandson of the noted Vasco da Gama. On December 25, 1600, Ayres de Saldanha became viceroy, holding that office a little more than four years. "During the 'captivity' or subjection to Spain (1580-1640) India was governed entirely through the *Casa da India* at Lisbon, and altogether in the interests of Portugal and the Portuguese officials, who, as will be seen in vol. ii, jealously excluded Spanish interference."—Gray and Bell, note in *Voyage of Francis Pyrard* (Hakluyt Society's publication no. 76, London, 1887), i, p. 439.

this great enterprise, and fixing my mind on its great importance, I ordered an armed fleet to be prepared – the most powerful one that has departed from this state to any other region; and I appointed as its commander Andres Hurtado de Mendoza, on account of whose Christian character and good fortune I hope God will give him success in carrying out his Majesty's intentions.

He took six galleons, five galliots, and one galley, with thirteen hundred combatants, and two thousand non-combatants for service. Of this it seemed proper to advise your Lordship, so that if the commander should be in need of any assistance you may give orders to provide it at his request – in order that his Majesty's purpose may be more thoroughly accomplished, and that the great sum expended for this fleet may not be lost. I feel assured that there will be no failure on your Lordship's part; on the contrary, I look forward without question to the entire success of the undertaking, with your assistance and favor. I trust that his Majesty will regard himself as having received better service from what your Lordship may do in this matter than by the much that I have done in this state; and in behalf of his Majesty's service I am under obligations to your Lordship. Our Lord guard, etc. (Written on May 5, 1601; received October 1, 1602.)

DECISION OF A COUNCIL OF WAR AT MANILA TO SEND AID TO THE MALUCO FLEET

At Manila, on the first day of September, one thousand six hundred and two, there were present at the royal buildings in the said city Don Pedro de Acuña, knight of the Order of San Juan, com-

mander of Salamanca, and president, governor, and captain-general of these islands; Doctor Antonio de Morga and the licentiate Tellez de Almacan, auditors of the said Audiencia; the commandant of the camp, Agustin de Arzeo; Don Juan Ronquillo, commander of the galleys; the sargento-mayor, Captain Christoval Azcueta; Captain Juan de Bustamante, adjutant; the quartermaster, Francisco de las Misas; the treasurer, Ventura de Santillana; Don Bernardo de Sande, warden of the fort at the Point; Captain Gomez de Machuca, Captain Francisco de Mercado, Captain Gaspar Perez, and Captain Esteuan de Prado. The said president announced and declared that by letters received from the Portuguese viceroy of Yndia and from Andres Hurtado de Mendoça, and by the report of Captain Antonio de Brito Fogaça, and of Father Andres Pere[i]ra of the Society of Jesus, who brought the letters, he had been informed that the said Andres Hurtado had come by order of his Majesty to get control of the Malucas Islands, which the kings thereof had usurped, and of other islands after the Hollanders had gained possession of them. For this purpose he had already proceeded with a large fleet to Amboyno, where the said Andres Hurtado had already subdued that island and placed it under obedience to his Majesty. Thence he had despatched the aforesaid persons to report to the said royal Audiencia and his Lordship how he had proceeded; and in what need the fleet was of provisions, ammunition, and other supplies. He begged with great urgency that they would provide and aid him with the same, as appeared from the said letters, which were read before the said

assembly. Accordingly the president requested them, after considering the matter and its nature, together with its great importance, to state their opinions upon the proper course to pursue under the circumstances.

DON PEDRO DE ACUÑA

Before me:

ANTONIO DE ORDAS

Immediately and directly the said commandant of the camp, commander of the galleys, and other captains, after discussing and conferring upon the aforesaid, declared unanimously that their opinion was in favor of assisting the said Andres Hurtado de Mendoça with two hundred men, which was the number asked for by word of mouth by the said Captain Antonio Vrito Fogaça. They agreed to this, notwithstanding that for this year the expedition to the river of Mindanao, already agreed upon, must be given up; because after considering the importance of reënforcing the naval expedition, and its usefulness in facilitating the said attack on Mindanao and causing apprehension in other islands, they regarded the aid of the said fleet as the more important enterprise for the present. They also decided to send as much assistance in the way of provisions and ammunition as was possible, and as his Lordship should direct; and to despatch everything as promptly as the weather would permit, considering that Terrenate is the principal point for the security of these islands, and the place where have originated the mischiefs done by the Mindanaos and Joloans. To this they affixed their signatures.

ASSISTANCE SENT BY THE GOVERNOR OF THE
FILIPINAS TO THE MALUCO FLEET
SENT OUT FROM YNDIA

Memorandum of provisions and ammunition which by order of Señor Don Pedro de Acuña, knight of the Order of San Juan, commander of Salamanca, governor and captain-general of these Philipinas Islands, and president of the royal Audiencia which sits therein, were sent by the official judges of the royal exchequer to the islands of Maluco, in aid of the fleet sent out by the lord viceroy of India, under Commander Andres Hurtado de Mendoça:

Rice. Five thousand fanegas of clean rice, a little more or less, at three reals a fanega – the price at which it is received in tribute, although at present the market price here is a peso and a half a fanega. Total: one thousand eight hundred and seventy-five pesos.

Meat. Three hundred young beeves, at six pesos each, including salt and earthen jars. Total: one thousand eight hundred pesos.

Wine. Two hundred jars of wine, at ten reals apiece, including the jars. Total: two hundred and fifty pesos.

Nails. Eight hundred quintals of nails and spikes, at seven pesos a quintal. Total: five hundred and sixty pesos.

Gunpowder. Forty quintals of gunpowder, at two reals and a half a libra – the price at which it is given to the infantry because of the small pay they receive, although it costs his Majesty more than four reals a libra. Total: one thousand two hundred and fifty pesos.

Cloth. Three hundred pieces of cloth from Ylocos at four reals and a half. Total: one hundred and sixty-eight pesos, and four tomins.

Idem. Seven hundred varas of Castilian sailcloth at six reals a vara. Total: five hundred and twenty-five pesos.

Needles. A hundred sail-needles, at a real: twelve pesos and four tomins.

Thread. Three quintals of cotton thread, at eighteen pesos a quintal: fifty-four pesos.

Oil. Thirty jars of oil for galagala,³ at a peso and a half: forty-five pesos.

Infantry. Two hundred private soldiers, one hundred and sixty-five being arquebusiers, at six pesos a month; and thirty-five musketeers at eight pesos; their pay for eight months comes to ten thousand one hundred and sixty pesos. The pay of the commandant and two captains, with their officers, for the said eight months comes to two thousand pesos.

Seamen. Twenty-two seamen to go with the ships carrying the reënforcements receive a hundred and fifty pesos a year, and rations. Total for the said eight months: two thousand two hundred pesos. A pilot, whose pay, at six hundred pesos a year, amounts for eight months to four hundred pesos. A master, whose pay, at three hundred pesos a year, amounts for eight months to two hundred pesos. Three gunners in the ship "Santa Potenciana," at two hundred pesos a year, and rations; for eight

³ *Galagala*: the name of a coniferous tree (also known as *piayo* and *damar*; *Agathis orantifolia*), which produces a resin that is used for burning, for lighting, and for calking vessels. See Blanco's *Flora*, p. 528; and U. S. Philippine Commission's *Report*, 1900, iii, p. 282.

months, four hundred and fifty pesos. Twenty Indian deck-hands, at two pesos a month. Total: three hundred and twenty pesos.

Grand total: twenty-two thousand two hundred and seventy pesos.

FRANCISCO DE LAS MISSAS
JHOAN DE BUSTAMANTE
VENTURA DE ST. TILLEN

OFFICIAL STATEMENT IN REGARD TO THE RE-
ENFORCEMENT AT MALUCO

(To be sent to his Majesty)

In the city of Manila, on the second of October, one thousand six hundred and two, Don Pedro de Acuña, knight of the Order of San Juan, commander of Salamanca, governor and captain-general of these Philipinas Islands, and president of the royal Audiencia and Chancillería which sits therein, made the following declaration. A month ago, or thereabouts, he received news and information from Señor Andrés Hurtado de Mendoça that he was in the fortress of Ambona with a force which he had brought from the city of Goa to conquer and seize the kingdom of Terrenate, and that to complete the enterprise he was in great need of assistance from these islands in men, provisions, and other things. He accordingly requested such assistance, and to this end had sent Father Andres Pereira of the Society of Jesus and Captain Antonio de Brito Fogassa, as appears from the letters and advices in their possession, to which reference is made. His Lordship, the auditors and fiscal of the royal Audiencia and Chancillería of these said islands, and the officers of the royal exchequer – to whom by one of the ordinances

of the said royal Audiencia had been committed by his Majesty the provision for such cases without waiting to consult his Majesty personally – considered the importance, advantage, and benefit to our lord the king, and the profit to these islands in the peace that they would enjoy if this project were carried into execution and the desired assistance were sent. With the unanimous approval of the members of the council of war he had commanded that the ship “Santa Potenciana,” which is one of his Majesty’s vessels, be immediately fitted out and provided with everything requisite, with a view to sending in it and in some other smaller vessels what has been prepared. At present the said ship is ready to sail to the island of Panay and the province of Pintados to receive the provisions, the troops, and the other supplies to be sent on the said expedition. Likewise, at the request and desire of the said Father Pereira and Captain Brito, he has given them a pilot, Vicente Dias, a Portuguese, to go in the said ship – one of the best pilots now in this city. Since everything is ready, the season far advanced, and promptitude is important, he ordered and does order that notification of the whole matter be given to the said Andres Pereyra and Captain Antonio de Brito Fogassa, as persons who came for the said assistance and are to return with it. His Lordship now has the said ship “Santa Potenciana” ready and fitted out with all things necessary to the voyage, and they are immediately or at a proper time to embark in her to go to the island of Panay, in the province of Pintados, where his Lordship is going in person to hasten and direct in the best manner the said assistance; and to give and deliver to them the infantry, provisions, and other supplies

which they were to take for that purpose. And since they are provided with everything necessary, let them attend to and carry out the undertaking accordingly. The supplies are not deficient; on the contrary, he has provided them, and he demands that if by a failure to carry out the enterprise, or by not departing in season with the said ship, the said assistance does not attain the desired end, or some loss occurs, or any other evil result follows, it shall be charged to their account and be at their responsibility, and not at that of his Lordship. For he on his part has complied with everything asked from him, by word of mouth or in writing, by the said Señor Andres Hurtado de Mendoza; and has done it with the good-will and care requisite in a matter of so great importance and consequence, and of so great service to the royal person of the king our lord, and the advantage and peace of this kingdom. Thus I order, direct, and attest. Let an official copy of this declaration and the answer thereto be made, that for all time the zeal with which I have attended to the affairs of the royal service may be made plain.

DON PEDRO DE ACUÑA

Before me:

FRANCISCO SARMIENTO

Notification

In the city of Manila, on the third of October of the said year, I, clerk of the government, read the above official act, communicated it word by word, and gave notice of it to Father Andres Pereyra of the Society of Jesus and to Captain Antonio de Brito in person. When they had heard the contents thereof they declared that they were ready to undertake the direction

and completion of the enterprise, and that in execution thereof they would go on the following day, or the second day at latest, and embark in the said vessel at the port of Cauite for the island of Panay, as they were directed. This they gave as their answer. As witnesses there affixed their signatures: Father Diego Sanchez, of the Society of Jesus; General Don Juan Ronquillo; and the sargento-mayor Captain Christoual de Azqueta.

ANDRÉ PEREYRA

ANTONIO DE BRITO FOGASSA

FRANCISCO SARMIENTO

I, Francisco Sarmiento, clerk of the government of these Philipinas Islands for the king our lord, was present at that of which I make mention above, and caused this copy to be made of the said official act which was in the archives of my said office, with the notification to them of the request made by Señor Don Pedro de Acuña, governor and captain-general of these said islands. This is a corrected, exact, and faithful copy. Witnesses of the correction and accuracy are: Geronimo Suarez and Juan de Aldabe, citizens of this city of Manila. Made therein, on the seventh of October, one thousand six hundred and two. Interlineations: *nao, el, Vala*. In testimony of the truth, I have affixed my seal.

FRANCISCO SARMIENTO

Gratis.

LETTER OF PEDRO DE ACUNA TO FELIPE III

Sire:

By the ships that left these islands this year for Nueva Hespaña I wrote for your Majesty, in dupli-

cate, an account of my voyage and arrival here, and of the other events which have happened to me; and as a ship was about to depart for Malaca I was unwilling to let slip the opportunity to write these lines and to send them in it by way of Yndia, that your Majesty might be informed of what other events have taken place and have come under my notice.

In my previous letters I gave your Majesty a detailed account of the state of affairs in Mindanao and Jolo, and sent a report of the retreat to Pintados of Captain Juan Xuarez Gallinato with your Majesty's force that was at Dapitan. The reason of this retreat was the information received that the enemy were preparing a great fleet to attack Pintados, which rendered it desirable to place the force at a point whence it could better be transported to the region where it might be needed. The result showed the importance of the retreat; for the enemy, being informed of it, dared not go to the said islands of Pintados, but advanced with a squadron of ships against Cuyo and the neighboring islands, distant from Pintados, where they pillaged everything and killed and took captive more than seven hundred persons.* This is misery

* Montero y Vidal recounts (*Hist. de la piratería*, i, pp. 146-150) the piratical raids made about this time by the Joloans and Mindanaos. When they saw that the fort at La Caldera was abandoned, they collected a force of three thousand men, in fifty caracoas, and (July, 1599) invaded the coasts of Cebú, Negros, and Panay, ravaging with fire and sword, and carrying away eight hundred captives. In the following year these Moros came against the Spanish settlement of Arévalo (now Iloilo), in Panay, with eight thousand men; but they were repulsed by a handful of Spaniards, aided by a thousand Indian allies. Gallinato led an expedition (February, 1602) against the Joloans, inflicting considerable loss on them, but was unable to reduce their forts; and he was compelled, by lack of supplies, to return to Manila. In the summer of 1602 another Moro expedition sallied out from Mindanao and harried all the northern islands, even attacking Luzon; they

enough; and, as I wrote your Majesty, this unfortunate condition of affairs *cannot be remedied except by arming galleys* [*underlined in original*] or large galliots, with which it will be possible to hasten from island to island. In many regions the mere knowledge of their existence will be sufficient to put a bridle on the audacity of these barbarians; and with them it will be possible to hunt out the enemy at home. With garrisons no beneficial results can be expected, in view of the great number of the islands; if we put soldiers wherever they are needed, the whole force of these provinces would not suffice – no, nor many more. Even if we had the troops, the cost would be enormous and the gain nothing; for the Moros come by sea, seize their booty, and take flight, without waiting to come to close quarters, understanding well how to accomplish their purposes and desires. Since it is impossible to get to close quarters with them, I am making all possible haste to build the galleys. For two I have the wood already cut, and for two others the wood will be cut next month. I am making plans to provide them with a complement of rowers; and I believe I shall be able to put them into such order that we can live with much more quiet than hitherto. [*In the margin: "For the council of war – there is no answer;" and, lower down: "Again no answer."*]⁴

It was agreed at a council of war that the fleet uncarried away much booty and many captives. A partial punishment was inflicted upon them by Spanish expeditions, but they were not subdued; and the Moro pirates were a constant source of terror and danger until recent times.

⁴ Each paragraph is accompanied in the original MS. by a marginal note summarizing its contents; this is here omitted, as containing no additional information.

der Captain Gallinato should be prepared and put in order, to go on the expedition for the occupation of Mindanao. It seemed that this was the best means of putting an end to the great harm done by the inhabitants of that island and of Jolo and Terrenate, and their confederates, to your Majesty's vassals. While the orders in regard to the preparations necessary to that end were being given, two letters arrived, one from the viceroy of Yndia, and the other from Commander Andres Hurtado de Mendoça. Copies will be enclosed, from which your Majesty will understand the condition of the fleet made up in Yndia for Maluco, and its need of aid. Your Majesty will also learn from the report of Captain Antonio Brito Fogaça and of Father Andres Pereyra of the Society of Jesus, who brought the letters, that although the fleet to which the viceroy refers in his letter set sail from Yndia, it put into harbor in distress and part of it was lost, as is made plain from a statement by the said Captain Brito, of which a copy is also enclosed. A great reduction of the strength of the fleet must of course have resulted; and we considered the importance of the undertaking and the great service that would be done by it to our Lord God, and which your Majesty would receive from its success, since the king of Terrenate is the principal defender in these regions, of the accursed sect of Mahoma. We considered these things and were moved by the disturbances to which your Majesty's vassals are subjected by the necessity of preparing a defense against the enemies of our true law – especially against the English and the Dutch, with whom the Moros make regular treaties and alliances, not only for the commercial advantages thus obtained, but for their favor and

assistance against us. We also took into consideration your Majesty's commands and decrees to the effect that when occasion should arise we should give aid and succor to the vassals of your Majesty in the states of Yndia, *as appears from the royal decree* * [*underlined in original*] of which also a copy is enclosed. The whole matter was considered and discussed in two councils of war, held with the Audiencia, the master-of-camp, and the captains; and it was agreed that for the present the expedition to Mindanao and the occupation of that island should be given up, together with all the preparations made or about to be made therefor; and that aid should be sent to the said fleet, as the more important matter, in the manner laid down in the formal votes of the councils of war, *copies whereof are enclosed* [*underlined in original*], together with a memorandum of the forces sent. I have had a ship of your Majesty's made ready, that there may be no lack of what is requisite. In it may be transported the soldiery, the provisions, and the rest; and assistance will be given by the other vessels, which will supply what is not taken in the ship. It has already been despatched to the town of Areualo, since on that island (namely, Panay) are to be collected and prepared the greater part of the said supplies. Since the expedition seemed to me of the importance that I have ascribed to it, I was unwilling to entrust the despatch of this reënforcement to anyone

* This decree was issued at Lisbon, March 31, 1582, by Felipe II; a copy of it (addressed to Peñalosa) appears in the MS. from which we have obtained this group of documents on the Maluco expedition.

A royal decree dated June 22, 1599, orders that all military expeditions in the islands thereafter must be sanctioned by the council of war, the cabildo of Manila, and the Audiencia.

but myself; and to attend to it with the greatest care, promptitude, and haste, I depart today for the said town of Areualo, which is ninety leagues from this town of Manila. While there, I shall give all my energy to the matter, that not an hour of time may be lost. The result that can and should follow is in God's hands. Should it be the contrary of what we desire, life in this archipelago will be attended with many hardships. When the expedition is despatched, I shall visit the fort in Octon, which is the one at Areualo, and thence I shall proceed to Cebu; and in both places I shall give the necessary directions for their security. Since those places are the two capitals of Pintados, from which the Indians of these provinces receive aid and protection, it is essential that those positions should be properly prepared and garrisoned. [*In the margin*: "Let a copy of this section and of the summary sent be transmitted to his Majesty, and let him be informed of the diligence displayed, in order that his Majesty may know of the sending of the reënforcements, and of the friendly relations between the Portuguese and the Castilians in the Filipinas."]

From the very day on which Captain Brito arrived, which was the seventh of last September, he began to give orders for the despatch of his fleet. Since the weather has been unfavorable to navigation to Maluco, he has not been able hitherto to depart. Now that the Bendavales [*i.e.*, southwest winds] are moderating, and all is quiet, and so favorable that unless there is a monsoon, as the Portuguese call it, nothing is lacking, it seemed best to me to make all possible haste with them, as your Majesty will learn by the report which I send; so that,

if there be any delay, it may be known that it has not been by my fault. I wished to make this statement to your Majesty, so that you might give orders to be informed in the matter because of what may happen in Terrenate. In my opinion the coming of a fleet from Yndia to Maluco incurs the difficulties of which I wrote to your Majesty from Mexico. The voyage is long and dangerous for galleys and galliots; and the worst is, that the enemy knows that they are remaining three or four months in Ambu-eno, waiting for favorable weather. Hence I fear that evil results may follow, because the troops and other requisites for defense may be made ready in advance by the islands subject to Terrenate and by the other friends of their sect.

In these islands there are many veterans who have done good service. Some are sick or wounded; and since there is here no occupation or support for them all, and since they are at such a distance from your Majesty that they cannot come before you to ask that you will show them favor in return for their services, some suffer the extremity of want, and feel greatly discontented and discouraged at seeing themselves in such misery, without anyone to turn to for relief. Hence it seems that it would be just if they were to receive rewards and gifts as your Majesty commands, and as is done in España for those who come from other regions to ask for such bounty. Inasmuch as affairs of greater consequence are entrusted to me, I beg your Majesty to be pleased to give me authority to aid such persons from the royal treasury of these islands, bestowing upon them annually such an amount as their service to your Majesty shall have deserved. I beg also for authority

to give some false musters to such as deserve them, that they may be able to live and maintain themselves. Such a course, in addition to being worthy of your Majesty's greatness, will have the important effect of animating the others to do good service on occasion, stimulated as they will be by the hope of reward. Our Lord protect the Catholic person of your Majesty in the happiness necessary to the good of Christendom. Manila, the twenty-sixth of October, 1602.

DON PEDRO DE ACUÑA

[*Endorsed*: "Manila. To his Majesty; Don Pedro de Acuña, the [twenty-sixth] of October. Let it be seen if this is a duplicate, and if the original has been filed." "Filed and registered within. Let attention be paid to the part on which a consultation is directed." "Two sections have already been epitomized, and were sent on to the council of war in Valladolid, on the twenty-eighth of June, 1605."]

PRINCIPAL POINTS IN REGARD TO THE TRADE OF THE FILIPINAS

FIRST POINT

The quantity of merchandise which may be traded with; and that which, contrary to the prohibition, is brought from the Western Indias to the Filipinas.

By decrees of his Majesty, of January 11, 93, and of July 9 and 5, 95, the trade of the Western Indias with China and the Filipinas Islands is prohibited. It is only permitted therein that the citizens of the Filipinas may trade with Nueva España; and that two ships, each of no more than three hundred toneladas, shall sail from Nueva España every year, in which may be sent 250,000 pesos of Tepuzque* in coin, and which may carry back the proceeds thereof in merchandise, which, under fixed penalties, shall not exceed another 250,000 pesos – that is, in all, 500,000 pesos.

Notwithstanding these prohibitions, and although the same is also commanded by other decrees to be

* In 1526, the cabildo of the City of Mexico gave permission for the citizens "to have their tepuzque gold converted at the smelting works" into coin. "For two years oro tepuzque was exclusively used, and the intrinsic value fluctuated so much that a standard was demanded. In September, 1528 the cabildo adopted the resolution that all such money should be examined and stamped." See Bancroft's *Hist. Mexico*, iii, p. 669.

strictly observed, two million reals are usually taken out of the Indias for the Filipinas, according to advices from the viceroy of Nueva España, and from Señor Don Bernardino de Avellaneda.

SECOND POINT

To whom it is permitted to trade and traffic in the Filipinas Islands.

By the aforesaid decree, it is permitted solely to the citizens of the said islands, for the space of six years. This license is not to be renewed, and trade and commerce is unqualifiedly prohibited to any other person whatsoever of the Western Indias, under the penalty of confiscation of his merchandise.

Nevertheless, under cover of commissions, the citizens of both Piru and Nueva España engage in trade, and they send their money in the ships going from Nueva España – some registered, and some secretly.

THIRD POINT

That Chinese merchandise be not brought to Piru.

By the same decree it is ordered that the merchandise brought to Nueva España from the Filipinas be not taken to Piru and Tierra Firme; and that the goods which had already been brought be disposed of within four years.

By another decree of the same date, like commands were given; and that the merchandise brought to Nueva España be either consumed there or sent to España.

Nevertheless, this merchandise is taken to Piru under pretense of being that of Castilla. Hence arise many difficulties, and the commerce of Es-

paña with Piru and Tierra Firme is ceasing, and merchandise from España is not sent to Piru. If this be not checked within a few years, it is agreed by all that the trade of España in merchandise with Tierra Firme, Piru, and Nueva España will cease.

FOURTH POINT

The ships which must be used in the trade, to whom they shall belong, and what has been permitted by the viceroys.

By the decree of January 11, 93, it is permitted that for this trade two ships, each of no more than three hundred toneladas, may sail annually from Nueva España to China. They may bring in return the property which is to come, and no ships belonging to private persons shall be sent. There shall be three ships, in order that one may remain at the port of Acapulco for repairs. They will sail at the expense of his Majesty, and the cost will be paid by their freight-charges and the cargoes that they carry. This order was altered by the viceroy, the administration of two ships having been given to private persons in 99, for this trade, with the power of appointing the officers thereof, with salary, and license to take freight, as will be stated later under the twelfth point.

FIFTH POINT

The appointment of the commanders and officers of said ships, and their number; the expenses incurred by them; and the question whether it will be expedient to reduce their salaries.

By the decree of his Majesty referred to in the letter of January 11, 93, sent to Gomez Perez das Mari-

ñas, governor of the Filipinas, permission is given to the viceroy of Nueva España to appoint the pilots and officers of the ships bound for the Filipinas.

Complaint is now made of this, from the islands, that there is great expense to the royal exchequer, in that the viceroys, in order that there may be offices in which to place their followers, multiply those of the ships; and, although they have the right to appoint one pilot to a ship, they appoint a captain-general and many accompanying him, an admiral, and many captains of infantry, a sargento-mayor, a royal sub-lieutenant, sub-lieutenants of the companies, and a royal alguazil. All these are persons of little experience, who are going to seek their fortunes in the Filipinas at his Majesty's expense; and they deprive the citizens of their offices.

Information is given, by a letter from the fiscal of the Filipinas, that but one pilot is sufficient for the ships; that the troops should be under the command of the captain or master of the ship, without increase of salary to said captain or master. Thus the afore-said officers of the troops may be dispensed with, and one gunner suffices for each piece or every two pieces of artillery.

SIXTH POINT

The losses of ships which have been employed in the Filipinas trade, and the cause thereof.

Through news brought by the ship "Santa Potenciana" in the year 601, it seems that the ships "San Geronimo," and "Santa Margarita," which sailed in the year 600, lost their masts in a storm; and the "Santa Margarita" drifted to the island of the

Ladrones, and the "San Geronimo" to Luzon, near Catanduanes. Both were driven ashore in February, 601, without being able to save themselves. This loss is attributed by some to disagreement among the officers, and by others to the late sailing of the ships, and to a lack of sailors, and (what is more nearly correct) to the general overloading of the vessels. The ship "Santo Tomas" was lost also on the voyage out, near the channel at Catanduanes; the hulk was lost with some supplies, small wares, and two millions or more of silver, besides the 500,000 pesos which were allowed to be carried.

SEVENTH POINT

What property may be taken to the Filipinas, and where it goes.

By the sixth point it appears that in the ship "Sant Tomas" alone, which was lost at the entrance of Catanduanes, there were over two millions besides the 500,000 pesos allowed.

This and all else which is carried is placed in the power of the infidels, who receive it as the price of the Chinese merchandise; and it can therefore be returned neither to the Indias nor to these kingdoms. Silks, damasks, taffetas, needlework, hand-mills, cotton stuffs, earthenware, wax, nails, and other merchandise of little profit are carried to those regions, thereby depriving his Majesty of his dues.

EIGHTH POINT

The discontent of all the islands, on account of depriving them of the profits which might be had from the purchase of this merchandise; and the lading of

it which his Majesty has granted, by his decrees, to the citizens of Peru and Nueva España.

The citizens of the islands, except one here and there, are very poor. They wish to abandon the islands, as there are no means of gain or profit except in trade and commerce. They are deprived of this by the citizens of Mexico and Peru, who bring over a great quantity of money, with which they do not hesitate to purchase merchandise at excessive prices. Then, in order to ship these goods, they hasten to pay high rates for the tonnage, and thus succeed in occupying the space which belongs to the citizens; and when the latter ship their merchandise it is so little that it is not sufficient for their support. On the other hand, the Portuguese pass from Acapulco to China with their money, and do not return to Nueva España. They either remain there, sending cargoes therefrom, or they send merchandise to Portugal, by way of the ports where the Portuguese trade, thus defrauding the native-born citizens of their rights.

NINTH POINT

That the royal decrees prohibiting trade with the Filipinas are not observed, chiefly on account of the opinion of Doctor Sacedo, a citizen of Mexico, that the violation of royal decrees involves the penalty thereof, but is not a mortal sin. Thus the citizens of Mexico may carry on commerce in the Filipinas, and those of the Filipinas may invest money which is sent to them, without burdening their consciences, or being obliged to make restitution.

The opinion of Doctor Juan de Sacedo, a citizen of Mexico, replying to the decree of January 11, 93,

states that this decree does not show clearly, and with the explicit statement necessary, that it was his Majesty's intention to bind strictly to an eternal punishment those on whom he imposes a pecuniary penalty; or that by its transgression are obligations to make restitution laid, in conscience, *ipso jure non expectata judicis sententia*, upon the people of Mexico who trade with the islands, or consign their property to citizens of Manila – either goods sent in exchange for the merchandise of the latter, or money which they remit to these – although both of these are prohibited. If these things are conceded, they make a profit and have the means of support. The reply thereto is incumbent upon his Majesty, from whom the decree emanated. Until his Majesty shall make further declaration, the decree is purely a penal ordinance, and nothing more. It involves only the penalty and condemnation to which the transgressor is exposed, and does not burden the conscience with mortal sin or restitution. For that, it is necessary that there be an explicit declaration – one conforming to the most lenient interpretation, which avoids fetters on men's consciences, and constraining transgressors by only a temporary penalty, and not by restitution or eternal punishment.

The religious Orders of St. Dominic and St. Francis at Manila, and the cabildo of the metropolitan church of that city, ask that this matter be adjusted. The religious assert an opinion contrary to the above, saying that a mortal sin is involved. They beg that his Majesty declare his royal will, and provide a person who shall enforce obedience to the royal decrees and punish the transgressors.

The cabildo of the church declares that no one in

the islands will be sufficiently powerful to enforce the decrees, unless his Holiness would undertake to decide what the faith teaches, regarding the authority which the mandatory as well as the penal laws possess in this matter. They request, therefore, that effective measures be taken by his Holiness in declaring and deciding the Catholic truth in this particular; and whether it will be a mortal sin to transgress the laws of the kingdom when that which is decreed is something very useful to the commonwealth.⁷

TENTH POINT

His Majesty has granted favor to the citizens of the islands, by permitting two ships, each of three hundred toneladas, to sail annually from Nueva España to the Filipinas; and they may carry therein from the Filipinas such property as is to be transported. There shall be three ships, in order that one may remain in dry dock at the port of Acapulco. They shall sail on his Majesty's account, paying the expenses thus incurred from their own earnings.

The viceroy and Don Pedro de Acuña, governor of the Filipinas, are of the opinion that this tonnage should all be utilized, so that each ship may carry three hundred toneladas of lading, six hundred toneladas between the two ships; and these should be the toneladas of the Southern Sea, which are larger than those of the Northern Sea. There should be three ships, all alike and of the same model, each containing four hundred short toneladas of the Northern

⁷ Spanish, *quando lo que se mada es cosa muy conueniente a la Republica*. The context would apparently require *inconueniente*, "injurious to the commonwealth;" there is apparently this typographical error of omission in the original printed text.

Sea, which amount to three hundred. The citizens of Manila shall lade on each ship two hundred toneladas and no more, which consequently will amount to six hundred toneladas in all the ships, in order that the goods may be distributed to better advantage, and the ships may carry more mariners.

Under this arrangement the expenses are greater, as there is one ship more, as well as the increased cost of the escorts of soldiers, and the artillery for the protection of the ships. Therefore the viceroy orders that henceforth in the Southern Sea, instead of paying thirty-two pesos on every tonelada, there shall be paid thirty-two ducados on every tonelada of stuffs coming from the Filipinas. This increase will amount to 12,000 pesos, more or less, with which may be defrayed the expenses of the infantry who return as guard of the ships and property which come from the Filipinas Islands, thereby assuring greater safety.

ELEVENTH POINT

That ships be bought on his Majesty's account; and those which have already been bought.

Until the new ships shall be built, the viceroy has supplied the line with ships in place of those which were lost. He commanded one to be bought from the mariscal Gabriel de Ribera. That and the "Santa Potenciana" were conveyed [to the islands] by Don Pedro de Acuña; also two ships from Piru were in his convoy, moderately laden with freight. Grace was granted, in the name of his Majesty, for some permissions for carrying money and a quantity of freight. This was given as to private persons, but not that the ships should be navigated on their ac-

count or under their administration, or that they should exercise any more authority than that of a passenger. This did not deprive the city of Manila of any of the six hundred toneladas which could be shipped, but merely utilized the surplus space of the ship, thereby doing no damage to the citizens of Manila.

TWELFTH POINT

That the ships of the Filipinas line may be assigned by contract.

The viceroy made the experiment in the year 99, of giving two ships in trust to Don Fernando de Castro and Alonso de Torres, with the privilege of appointing officers, a salary of one thousand pesos, and permission to place in the cargo twenty or twenty-five toneladas of their own goods; they were obliged to give bonds, and to keep correct accounts of the profits and expenses. If the profits should exceed the expenses, the excess should belong to his Majesty; if the costs should amount to more than the profits, the trustee must supply the deficit from his own purse.

The officials of his Majesty at the port of Acapulco oppose this plan, and say that it is very unprofitable, and to the injury of his Majesty and the royal exchequer, in that the trustees attend only to their own profit. It is the universal opinion that the "Santa Margarita" did not come here on account of having been sent out thus in trust.

THIRTEENTH POINT

That a limit be placed on the merchandise brought from China.

FOURTEENTH POINT

That there be trading and voyaging to Eastern India.

There are also the general points, that the commerce of Nueva España with Piru and Tierra Firme in silks and Chinese merchandise be prohibited, without any discrimination of persons, as being a great damage and injury to the trade of España and defrauding the royal dues.

The licentiate ALONSO FERNANDEZ DE CASTRO

VARIOUS DOCUMENTS RELATING TO COMMERCE

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Rule 45 on the leasing of the import duties of Sevilla, and likewise the ordinances made by the prior and consuls^a of Mexico in regard to this trade of the Filipinas, are to be considered by the assembly discussing the trade of the Filipinas, in order to decide what is best to be done.

LETTER FROM FRAY MARTIN IGNACIO DE LOYOLA

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Jesus

As I could not be present, I have written out my answer in my memorial on the Filipinas, and it accompanies the present letter, by which your Lordship will see what I advocate. I assert that, beyond all doubt, what I here point out would be the only remedy.

This morning when I went to receive your Lordship's blessing, and offer my respects, it was already late; and I believe that I shall not be able to do it tomorrow. Therefore I beseech your blessing in this,

^a The president and members of a tribunal of commerce, appointed to try and decide causes which concern navigation and trade.

as one whom I hold in so great esteem, and to whom I owe so much. Upon all occasions I shall advise you of my affairs and matters of importance. As from one from whom I have experienced it, I shall receive all kindness. May our Lord preserve your Lordship, as I desire. From San Diego. Your Lordship's chaplain,

FRAY MARTIN YNACIO DE LOYOLA

[*Endorsed*: "No date."]

OPINION OF FRAY MARTIN IGNACIO DE LOYOLA

In order that the Yndias may not be ruined, they should be dependent upon and subordinate to España, and there should be close relationship between the different parts.

This subordination and relationship consists in two things: first, in what concerns the government – political, spiritual, and temporal, and therefore it is advisable that the viceroys, governors, bishops, vicars, and commissaries-general should be sent from España. True, those who have gone from these parts and fulfil their duties properly there, should be rewarded since they have worked, and merit this favor more than those going from España.

By reason of the lack of this subordination and relationship, we know that many kingdoms which were converted to the faith returned to paganism. A good example of this is furnished in Eastern Yndia, where the apostle St. Thomas converted innumerable souls in the kingdom of Bisnaga, Cuylan, Cochin, and Caratuete. But after the death of St. Thomas, as there was no communication either with Palestina or Roma, in three or four generations there was not one Christian. Until now, for two hundred years Baby-

Ionian bishops have gone there; and now there are many Portuguese.

The second thing essential to the relationship between the Yndias and España is that there should be commerce and trade between those kingdoms. This is extremely needful, for, if commerce should cease, then communication would cease; and, should the latter cease, within a few generations there would be no Christians there. That which causes most inquiry to this commerce and communication, is the diversion of the commerce between the Yndias and España to other kingdoms, not belonging to his Majesty, but heathen and pagan; such is now the case between Nueva España, Peru, and the Filipinas, which receive annually two million pesos of silver; all of this wealth passes into the possession of the Chinese, and is not brought to España, to the consequent loss of the royal duties, and injury to the inhabitants of the Filipinas; and the greatest loss, with the lapse of time, will be that rebounding upon the Yndias themselves. All the projects and prohibitions that have been devised to remedy this loss serve but to inflict still greater injury, and to cause universal ruin.

As long as the viceroy of Nueva España continues to appoint the captains and officials of the vessels sailing to the Filipinas, the fitting reform cannot be instituted; for, it is clear that, as such officials go from Mexico, they will not hesitate to take their money and that of their friends; and even if other prohibitions may be issued, they will not cease to do so.

The fitting remedy for this matter consists in having a consulate in Manila, and in providing there the said officers, and in assigning to each citizen of the islands the amount of goods that he may export. By

this method, a complete remedy for this evil will be provided, and the inhabitants of the islands, for their own benefit and interest, should endeavor to keep the trade themselves, and prohibit trading or sending consignments of silver from Mexico or Peru.

The trading in, and consignments of silver to, the Filipinas by the inhabitants of Mexico causes great detriment to the inhabitants of the islands; for, because of the Mexicans sending so much silver, the price of Chinese silks and merchandise has risen, so that, while for twenty years, when only the inhabitants of the islands were permitted to trade, they were wont to gain one thousand per cent, now they do not gain one hundred, whence results much resentment in the Filipinas. Therefore it is most certain that, if the trade be conceded to them alone, with a just limitation, they will desire to be the only gainers; and hence will endeavor to see that no Mexicans send any silver, and will execute whatever penalty his Majesty imposes on the Mexicans. This they will do, because clearly much advantage will accrue to the islanders thereby, by the lowering of the price of the merchandise in Manila and a rise in Mexico. If this reason be examined closely, my assertion will be quite clear.

I maintain the same in regard to the port of Buenos Ayres; and what has been ordained but lately I think was by divine ordination; for hitherto, notwithstanding the prohibition that there should be no trade, ships entered and cleared, and traded between Brasil and Potosi, and between Potosi and Brasil and España. And, although six judges were sent to enforce this prohibition, they were unable to effect a remedy, until the governor, Don Diego de Baldes, gave permission, as he considered it an extreme neces-

sity, and the ultimate remedy, for the citizens of Buenos Ayres to reap some slight portion of the profits – although he erred in this, as it was done without his Majesty's permission. However, now that this license is confirmed, the matter, in so far as it touches this port, is remedied; for the amount of flour which they take cannot be of sufficient consideration to damage the commerce of Tierra Firme; and the citizens, as they profit thereby, will prevent anyone from trading outside of the port, and will execute the penalties imposed by his Majesty on those who try to trade. I relate all the above because I think great things will result therefrom to the service of our Lord and of his Majesty.

FRAY MARTIN YNACIO DE LOYOLA,
bishop of Rio de la Plata.

[*Endorsed*: “+ Memorial from the bishop of Rio de la Plata, in which he declares what reform should be effected in the commerce of the Filipinas and Mexico; and asserts that the action of the council in Buenos Ayres has had very good effect.”]

EXTRACTS OF TWO LETTERS FROM THE CONDE
DE MONTERREY

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The merchants of the corporation of the city of Los Reyes, Peru, declare that, in the commerce between that kingdom and this one of [Nueva?] España, they regard it as so necessary, that should it cease, it would mean complete destruction. On this account it must be preserved, and to this end all the means possible must be sought out.

Further, they declare that the merchandise brought to the kingdom of Peru from China is not the cause of

this decline of commerce between the Yndias and España, but the inadequate regulation of the war and merchant fleets, and the winter seasons, which are the utter ruin and destruction of the merchants. This is plainly evident, since before the wars with Ynglaterra, when this matter was properly attended to, the commerce was extensive and profitable – although there was no need of so much merchandise as there is now, when the population of Peru is so much larger than at that time – and the merchants not only of España but of Peru were amassing wealth. But now they are not doing so, for the reason that is here named. All is going to destruction: payments cannot be met when due; and duties are excessive, for in order to send money to España, the shippers pay seven and one-half per cent for the galleons to guard the money, and when goods are shipped from Sevilla, they pay as much as three and one-half per cent. The principal cause of this loss is the time [required to transact business]; for from the day when the money leaves Callao (the port of Lima) until it returns in merchandise to the same point there is an interval of at least three years, counting the winters; and before they can secure returns from the merchandise another year, or even a year and one-half, must pass, for not all the merchandise can be sold for cash. Consequently this money can gain its profit only once in four years, when it could, as formerly, be thus handled twice in that time. And however great the amount of the profit, it cannot approach that of the two profits [in the four years], especially with the loss involved in the aforesaid duties for the fleets, and the new impositions of duty for the armed vessels that carry, in the South Sea, the money from Lima to

Panama – and this is in addition to the duties paid to his Majesty. Thus it results that the merchants of Lima, who were formerly very rich and had ample credit, have become debtors; and this is the reason why the merchants of Sevilla do not make the same profits as formerly. Therefore there is a cry against Chinese goods, as they imagine that to be the cause of their loss. This is evident likewise, because the commerce existing formerly between Peru and Nueva España was very slight and now has increased greatly, and the Peruvian merchants prefer to go to Nueva España to make their investments rather than to España, because they can make the voyage to Nueva España in one year; and therefore can make many investments with their money. And although it is true that they bring Chinese merchandise in their shipments from that which arrives in that kingdom of Nueva España, still the greater part of the cloth bought by them is from España. Although this costs them more, the shortness of the time is of so great importance to them that they consider it more profitable than going to España, for the reason expressed above regarding the delay in time. Thus, with suitable arrangements regarding galleons and merchant-vessels, commerce is prosperously carried on.

Further, they declare that the kingdom of Peru has greatly increased, during the last twenty years, in its Spanish population, both in Spaniards born there, and in those who have gone thither from España, so that there are at least three times as many people. All these people live very luxuriously. All wear silk, and of the most fine and costly quality. The gala dresses and clothes of the women are so many and so excessive, that in no other kingdom of

the world are found such; so that if four merchant-vessels went to Peru annually, all the cloth goods would be sold, as well as everything else of the cargo. Because vessels go there only at long intervals, the people make use of goods from Nueva España and China. However, in the case of the Chinese goods, they are worn only by the very poor, and the negroes and mulattoes (both male and female), sambahigos,* many Indians, and half-breeds, and this in great number. The silks of China are much used also in the churches of the Indians, which are thus adorned and made decent; while before, because of inability to buy the silks of España, the churches were very bare. As long as goods come in greater abundance, the kingdom will feel less anxiety, and the cheaper will be the goods. The increase to the royal exchequer will be greater, since the import duties and customs increase in proportion to the merchandise; and this increase cannot take place, if the fleets are laid up for the winter, for by this delay the merchant-vessels cannot be despatched annually – on which, and upon their money not lying idle, depend the profits of the merchants.

Therefore the merchants of Peru declare that commerce should be opened with China, and that they should be permitted to send one million [ducados] annually in two vessels, and that this million bring back merchandise to the same port of Callao. This merchandise will yield six millions, of which ten per cent, paid to his Majesty, will amount to six hundred thousand ducados. And if the license for one million is not given, it should be for one-half, the duties on

* Children resulting from the unions between Chinese and Indians are known as zambaigos.

which would be three hundred thousand ducados.

Further they declare that, if this be not conceded to them, they should be permitted to buy and carry to Peru the merchandise taken from China to Nueva España. There the duties on this merchandise would be imposed, and they would pay seven per cent on them, notwithstanding that only five per cent is paid in Nueva España. Paying seven per cent on the merchandise from China bought in Mexico, it will be seen of what little importance the four to six millions of ducados that Sevilla pays to his Majesty are to the royal estate, because it does not consent that goods from China may enter Peru.

And I assert that, should his Majesty ask me for my opinion, I would tell him that, if it is true that the Chinese merchandise can in no way injure the commerce of España, while its benefit to Peru is certain – especially to the poor and common people, of whom there is a great number – and since it seems desirable, for the adornment of the churches of the Indians, that there should be goods from China, my opinion would be that license should be given for only one-half million (ordering under heavy penalties that this sum be not exceeded), to be used in the following manner: Four hundred thousand ducados' worth of merchandise should be brought, and one hundred thousand worth of gold bullion. The latter is likewise merchandise in China; but traders do not like to take it, as it yields them no more than fifty per cent, while on the other merchandise they make five hundred per cent and upward. Thus if this silver should be allowed to them, they would obtain gold, and this one-half million would yield three millions in Peru from merchandise which will be worth three hundred

thousand ducados in import duties to his Majesty, besides the other dues imposed on the aforesaid goods. Thus the customs will increase, and, as said, these five hundred thousand ducados need not to be considered, as it is thought that this amount cannot diminish the commerce with España; for every year the merchandise of Peru yields six or seven millions, and if the trading fleets and armed galleys are sent at the same time, much more money will go to España, which on this account does not go there. These five hundred thousand ducados have, in previous years, always gone from China to Peru by way of Mexico; and as the merchants say truly, the winterings and increased duties and expenses of the winterings are causing the commerce to deteriorate. This is proved by the above arguments of the merchants, evidently cited from actual facts. Thus, if the merchants were provided with money, and were able to dispose of their cargoes every two years, and with the proceeds thereof begin new commercial enterprises, they would not be only exhausted and ruined, but rather they would be placed in easy circumstances and the country would be relieved from its difficulties by the gains thus made. With more goods, it is evident that the royal exchequer would benefit more as aforesaid. Therefore it would not be advisable to prohibit all commerce with China.

And at the very least, the five hundred thousand ducados should be granted, so that the merchandise taken to Mexico from China can be purchased in Mexico. Collecting in Peru the customs on these Chinese goods purchased in Mexico, seven per cent would be levied thereon, which plus the five per cent

paid in Mexico, makes twelve per cent. The kingdom would feel greatly aggrieved if they were deprived entirely of this commerce. And if Mexico continues to have trade with China, a considerable quantity of Chinese goods will, however many precautions will be taken, be hidden in the Mexican ships for Peru; while but very little of it will be seized, and his Majesty will lose almost four hundred thousand ducados, because the goods do not enter publicly. Therefore it would be advisable that this license be granted perpetually, with the above limitation.

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A great lack of money has made itself felt in this colony; and, after having thoroughly investigated the cause thereof, it has been ascertained that it proceeds in part from the very great sum taken out annually for China. It is also attributed in part to the issue of the money from the treasury – not that it has been less than in other years, but it has always been much more limited than it might be, and than is advisable for a commerce that is increasing in extent and value so much as is that of this kingdom. And since it would be greatly to the advantage of the treasurer to coin more money, they impute to him that, by not spending something at present, he is thus niggardly in making the necessary provision, and that by this he loses much and the state more. These two difficulties are reënforced by another – that since there have hitherto been, for various reasons, very few traders who were inclined to buy silver from private persons and send it to the mint to have it coined on their account, it has resulted that four or five men have made themselves the masters of this traffic; consequently there has been a great increase this year in the loss incurred by those

who sell their silver in order to be furnished with coin. All this has been observed at the time of the vessels and trading fleet; and it is a matter of much moment, in which it has seemed best to me to inform your Majesty, inasmuch as I have undertaken to institute a reform. This, please God, will be made with energy, as in breaking open a package. When the correctives usual in this region (which are mild) do not suffice, I will propose to your Majesty other and more severe measures, which might be adopted by the Council, and one might be of sufficient advantage to your Majesty. However, it were not advisable to discuss this, but that the necessity of the public government demands it and invokes it, since only at such times can it be called just or used as an argument.

I consider your Majesty's permit in regard to the money going to the Philipinas as liberal and beyond the excess of what is carried as contraband, which is a very large amount. It is almost impossible to put a stop to this, notwithstanding that I do not give permission, expressed or tacit, in that commerce for one real more than the amount allowed; and I have ordered vigorous investigations on this point at the time of the despatch of the vessels. But if it is easy to hide the money, there is little to fear in the penalties, although orders are given that they be executed. Accordingly, in case of the cloth that can be brought to and unloaded at Acapulco, I think that, as it has bulk, it can be locked up in some warehouse and examined, or (which would be more efficacious), that no limit be placed on the use of this class of goods in Nueva España, so that those persons whom the viceroy considers needy might not be restricted in wearing it. I fear greatly that in the case of the money, as it is so

easy to hide, no sufficient reform can be instituted for this evil, as I see that there is no remedy in other things of like nature, either in the armed ships or the trading vessels from those kingdoms. There, however, is less damage; for this is all in money which goes to infidels and never returns, and thus militates against this country, and that [España], and greatly weakens the commerce of both. I recently made arrangements with Don Pedro de Acuña (as I wrote to your Majesty on another occasion) for making a personal inspection at Acapulco; it was decided that I should reject the money, and, because there have never been confiscations that cause fear, that some part of each one's share should be actually applied to the treasury, and that the same should be done in Manila. Since letters received from there state that goods are very dear because of the great quantities of money that go there, it must be that this inspection was not promptly made; and I fear that there is too much laxity there. For it would appear that those islands should grow rich with the increase of money, and that if they buy at high prices they must sell the goods here at high prices; and on this account regard and favor for that land must not give the governor and Audiencia opportunity to take severe measures toward this region. I intend to use rigor at the coming of the ships this year; for this is demanded by the prevalent excesses and our actual experience of the difficulties that result therefrom.

[*Endorsed*: "Copies of parts of letters from the Conde de Monterey,¹⁰ written to his Majesty, May 15, 1602."]

¹⁰ In 1603 Monterey, then viceroy of Nueva España, was promoted to the viceroyalty of Peru. The salaries of these offices were

POINTS IN THE PETITION FROM THE FILIPINAS
ISLANDS IN REGARD TO THEIR COMMERCE*First point*

That the commanders, captains, and officers of the vessels plying on the line, be inhabitants of the said islands, and not of Nueva España, so that the losses, frauds, and injuries that they cause in loading their goods, and in the transportation by the ships of enormous sums of pesos in consignment and trust, may cease. This would save for his Majesty's treasury the salaries paid the officers of the vessels, and would benefit the islands. The citizens of the islands would receive such posts, when it should pertain to them, as a reward for their services, as the governors have been ordered to grant them to meritorious men.

The bishops of Paraguay and Nueva Segovia declare in information given on this matter, at the order of the Council, that for its remedy and the aid of the islands, it would be very advisable to establish a consulate in Manila; and that the [royal] ships, together with the vessels of the merchants, should go on its account. His Majesty should be given the hulls of the ships, and the masters and officials appointed in the said islands, to whom money from Mexico should not be committed, nor should it be given them in trust. The expense caused to his Majesty by them would thus be saved.

Second point

That the governors be ordered not to sell tonnage in the ships plying in the line to Nueva España, no matter what expenses are incurred.

respectively twenty thousand and thirty thousand ducats (Bancroft's *Hist. Mexico*, iii, p. 2).

The bishops assert that it is not advisable to sell any space, but that, in case of great necessity, it be done by the consulate; it would be better, however, not to sell it, for if it is sold, then there will be no freight-money for navigating the vessels.

Third point

That the viceroy of Nueva España be ordered not to give permission for any Piruvian merchants to go to the islands from Piru, under pretext that they are going to become citizens of the islands – because of the injuries that the islands receive therefrom; because of those merchants carrying, as they do, large sums of money belonging to themselves and others, and to companies; and because they only come to invest the same and return. On this account the prices of merchandise have risen more than fifty per cent. After investing their money, the commanders and masters, because of a money consideration, take these merchants back to Nueva España, without it being possible to institute any reform.

The bishops say that it is advisable that they should not go [to the islands] unless for the purpose of becoming actual citizens, for there the difficulties referred to in this point exist.

Fourth point

That the fund for the pay of the troops be placed in the treasury on a separate account, and that the said troops be paid therefrom, and from no other account, in order to avoid the disadvantages that result, and the many offenses and injuries committed by the soldiers under stress of their necessities and the op-

portunities that arise. This would provide a source for what money might be necessary, not only for the equipment of ships, and provision of ammunition and other military supplies, but for the pay of the soldiers, which is now spent in other things.

The bishops declare this to be inconvenient, and that the half-real which is given for the prebendaries should also be placed in the treasury on a separate account.

Fifth point

That the cabildo, magistracy, and regimiento of Manila be ordered to allot annually the lading of the vessels to the citizens of Manila, for much harm has resulted to the citizens from the governor allotting it – the lading being made illegally, and the governor having allotted it to many of his servants and relatives to the prejudice of the citizens and those born in this country. By this method the allotment would be honestly made without wrong to any one.

The bishops say that if his Majesty orders the consulate to be established in Manila, in such case it would be advisable for the consuls to make the allotment; and the governor cannot feel aggrieved thereby, since the consuls must navigate the vessels with the freight-money. However, if there are no consuls, it should be determined that the cabildo make the allotment, even though the governor be aggrieved.

The licentiate ALONSO FERNANDEZ DE CASTRO

VARIOUS MEMORANDA

The question of limiting and restricting the trade between the Philipinas and Mexico has been dis-

cussed recently, and two points touching this have been determined: one, that it is not advisable for this trade to take place by way of Yndia; the other that it is not expedient to prohibit all trade between Pyru and Nueva España. There still remain five other points to be decided concerning this matter: (1) How many vessels shall take part in this trade. (2) How many toneladas shall be allowed. (3) What persons shall be permitted to take part in this trade. (4) Whether those who go from Mexico to the Philipinas shall be permitted to return. (5) Whether the sending of Sangleys to Manila be limited.

Filipinas

To lessen the coinage of pieces of four and of eight reals.¹¹ It should be noted that 200,000 and 400,000 ducados have been minted.

To grant a portion of what is confiscated to the informer.

To regulate the merchant-fleets.

To increase the dues, and impose customs.

The first four sections¹² refer to what is ordained in regard to this trade.

The fifth declares the irregularity in the appointments of officers for this fleet.

The sixth, seventh, and eighth treat of the disadvantages which result from not observing the ordinances, and of their violation.

From the ninth to the thirteenth and last, are given

¹¹ The "piece of eight" was a coin having the weight and value of eight reals of silver; the "piece of four," one of half that value.

¹² Reference is apparently made here to the preceding document, "Principal points in regard to the trade of the Filipinas."

the remedies that appear suitable for the correction of these evils.

Five points of the recent document look to the correction of illegal acts, and aim at securing the observance of the ordinances and the accomplishment of other things.

It is noted that the ordinances permit merchandise to be sent by way of Rio de la Plata, which the Sevilla merchants have violently opposed.

The tranquillity of the Indians.

Other remedies proposed by the Conde de Monterey, who states that he will send others, showing the violations of law. This is in his letter of May 25, of this year.

The conclusion was, the relationship between the said kingdoms, and the increase of trade. It is readily seen that the increase in the manufacture of wines, and in the production of grains, olives, and other foods, and the maintenance of stock-raising by means of the cultivation of grain – all aim at the same object.

It should be noted whether it would be advisable to forbid the coinage of pieces of four and eight, beyond a certain number and quantity – namely, only that necessary to supply the needs there, and for what must be brought here.

To make arrangements for the despatch of the fleet.

To ascertain whether the bishop of Yucatan was the one who had those contentions with the governor, and of whom the friars are talking. He is proposed for the bishopric of Mechoacan.

Remedies

Considering that the trade should be preserved, and that the officials on the ships should be in-

habitants of the Filipinas, and appointed there. That there be a consulate there, which should control the pancada. That the coinage of money be diminished. That the third part [of confiscated goods] go to the informer. That the duties be increased. That if Peru be allowed to trade, it be to a limited amount; and that dues and customs be imposed. That the trading fleets and armed vessels act in concert. That there be a warehouse in Acapulco, wherein to register the merchandise, and where violations of law may be detected; and that the same be done in Manila, with goods sent there. To forbid the use of stuffs for clothing from China.

LETTER FROM MORGA TO FELIPE III

Sire:

In the ships which came this year to these islands from Nueva España, came the president, Don Pedro de Acuña, who thereupon took up the government; and in the ships which were afterward despatched to Nueva España, account was given to your Majesty of this, and of what else occurred on all sides.

A few days afterward, the president supplied himself with ships, military stores, and fighting men in the provinces of Pintados, in order to go against the hostile Mindanaos and Joloans – who, with the help of the Terrenate Moros of Maluco, are infesting them and overrunning those islands every day, with a great deal of damage. Just then word came from Andrea Furtado de Mendoça that with a number of galleons and a fleet of your Majesty's, he was descending upon the fortress of Terrenate to capture it; and conformably with a letter to the president from Arias de Saldaña, viceroy of India, which he sent at the same time, he begged that reënforcements of vessels and some men, which he needed, might be sent him, in order that the purpose of the undertaking might be assured. Recognizing the great importance of this, and considering that, if that fortress were taken, besides the

great profit from the cloves,¹⁸ these regions would be safe from so fierce an enemy as that which is harassing and overrunning it, and especially that these islands would root out those Mindanaos and Joloans – it seemed to him expedient and necessary that part of what had been prepared for Pintados should be sent to the aforesaid fleet. In order to carry this out well, the president decided that he would go in person to the island of Sibiu. May fervent prayers be offered to our Lord that He may give them the good fortune which is needed, in order that by it service may be rendered to Him, and that of your Majesty may be entirely fulfilled.

Of the ships which this year set out from these islands for Nueva España, the flagship and one other put in at these islands at the end of four months of stormy sailing, having lightened a quantity of merchandise and then having suffered damage to the goods, very much to the sorrow and loss of the residents of this realm. The commander of the flagship, Don Lope de Ulloa, a relative of the Conde de Monterrey, and an experienced and courageous knight, thought to make repairs in Xapon and from there, having made ready, to continue his voyage. So he went in search of a harbor in that kingdom, in the province of Toça, near the place where, in the year 96 just past, the galleon "Sant Felipe" entered. The natives gave him assurances of safety and all facilities for his departure; but when he had entered a harbor

¹⁸ See La Concepción's account of the result of this expedition (*Hist. de Philipinas*, iv, pp. 16-18). The Spanish troops joined the Portuguese at Tidore, and together they besieged the Malay fort at Terrenate; but after ten days the Portuguese refused to continue the siege, and retreated; this compelled Gallinato, the Spanish commander, to return with his troops to Manila.

there came a governor of Dayfusama, with a number of fighting men – arquebusiers, musketeers, and archers. After having given the men on the ship the same promise of security, and after having had six Spaniards sent to Miaco with a present for Dayfusama,¹⁴ according to the custom of the country, he captured on land some religious and some other Spaniards who had ventured to go out from the ship; and then made extraordinary efforts to stop the entrance of the harbor and to seize the ship with all its cargo. Seeing the deceit and violence which was being committed, it became necessary for the Spaniards to defend themselves, and to get out of the harbor by fighting, with loss to both sides and with great difficulty; and so, through the mercy of God, they came to these islands. When the Japanese saw themselves deprived of the capture of the ship which they doubtless already thought their own, we do not know what decision they may have reached regarding those who remained on land – nor, above all, what Dayfusama may have done. It appears only that all friendship with these infidels is dangerous, and that at least the religious who interfere in this, and consider it certain, allow themselves to be deceived easily by their ardent desire to enter these lands, which is caused by their zeal for the conversion [of the infidels]; and thus they facilitate

¹⁴ *Dai-fu-sama*: the official title of Iyeyasu, then the chief secular ruler (Shōgun) in Japan, which power he gained by his victory at the great battle of Sekigahara (October, 1600). With him began the Shōgunate of the Tokugawa family, which lasted for two hundred and fifty years. Iyeyasu labored to secure the peace of the empire, both internal and external, and to this end undertook to eradicate the Christian religion in Japan; and formed a code of laws for his people. He was a man of high character and ability, and was deified after his death. This event occurred in 1616, when he was seventy-four years old. See Rein's *Japan*, pp. 293-303.

certain matters, and are more confident in them than is desirable.

It seemed to be necessary, considering the absence of the president from this city and the arrival of the two ships of this expedition, to give an account to your Majesty of what was to be known about these matters, by way of India, in a Portuguese ship which is setting out from here for Goa. In this I have been influenced only by what is for the service of your Majesty and in order that your Majesty may be informed of what is being done in these remote regions, by every route. I beg your Majesty to pardon my boldness, and I pray our Lord to guard your Majesty for many long years. From Manila, on the first of December in the year 1602.

DOCTOR ANTONIO DE MORGA

DOCUMENTS OF 1603

Three Chinese mandarins at Manila. Geronimo de Salazar y Salcedo; May 27.

Resignation of his office by the bishop of Nueva Segovia. Miguel de Benavides; July 4.

Letters to Felipe III. Miguel de Benavides; July 5 and 6.

Letters to Felipe III. Pedro de Acuña and others; July-December.

The Sangley insurrection. Pedro de Acuña, and others; December 12-23.

SOURCE: All these documents are obtained from MSS. in the Archivo general de Indias, Sevilla.

TRANSLATIONS: These documents are translated by Robert W. Haight – except the second, by José M. and Clara M. Asensio.

THREE CHINESE MANDARINS AT MANILA

The licentiate Geronimo de Salazar y Salcedo, fiscal for your Majesty in the royal Chancillería of the Philipinas Islands. In the month of February or March of each year there usually come from the kingdom of China to this city of Manila thirty ships, and sometimes more, with merchandise from that kingdom. This year they were detained until the middle of May, and only fourteen ships came. In one of them were three mandarins, who are the same as those whom we call "governors." Three or four days before they arrived at this city, the chief of them sent a letter to Don Pedro de Acuña, governor and captain-general of these islands and president of the royal Audiencia thereof. A copy of the translation of this letter will be sent with this. In this they gave us to understand that Oyten, a Chinaman who had been in these islands, told their king that in the port of Cavite there was a great hill of gold which had no owner, and that the people of that vicinity availed themselves of it to obtain a great quantity of gold. Their king had sent him to learn the truth, for there had been those who contradicted this; and therefore the governor should have no apprehension, and might rest secure.

On the twenty-third of May the three mandarins landed in this city, with many insignia of justice which they are accustomed to wear in China, attended by alguacils, executioners, and other officers, with wands and cords, and receiving much reverence. They had a small box in which were carried the patents of their offices. While I was on that day in the company of the governor, all three mandarins came in to visit him, and we saw them coming from a window. I told the governor that those mandarins could not be allowed to carry their insignia of justice; but he answered me that there was nothing worth notice in that. A short time after this, Pedro Hurtado Desquivel, clerk of the court of the said royal Audiencia, in behalf of the auditors thereof told the governor to take notice that he could not consent that the mandarins should bear the insignia of justice in this city. He answered in the same manner as he had replied to me. The mandarins having taken up quarters in houses which were made ready for them, I had information that they were sending thither Chinese and flogging them, in form of justice, according to the Chinese usage. This moved me to enter a petition in regard to it in the royal Audiencia, demanding that this be stopped. I was ordered to give an information, and I did so, as fully appears by the copy thereof which accompanies this. When the governor learned of this, he was much angered at me, and complained bitterly of me – saying that this proceeding was in opposition to him; and that I should have first given him an account of what I wished to petition, which I should have done very willingly [*illegible in MS.*] had I thought it of any use. But as he had seen what occurred, it appeared to me – with the report of the

Audiencia, and what I had before said to him in regard to the mandarins not bearing insignia of justice – that any further discussion of the subject with the governor might be dispensed with, and that it was my duty to petition as I did. The Audiencia took no action, because the governor issued an act commanding that the mandarins should not administer justice, or bear their insignia of chastisement through the streets. The Audiencia commanded that this act be joined with the information which I had given, and the mandarins went back to their own country. As it appeared to me well that your Majesty should know of this affair – of which you will find full details in the information of which I speak – I have thought it best to give an account thereof to your Majesty, so that your Majesty may be pleased to command that the procedure be established in the case of mandarins coming from China to this city, and direct in what state they are to go through the streets; for the tokens of authority which those mandarins bore were excessive. I have even gone so far, in order that this may be better investigated, as to have a picture made of the style in which they went about, a copy of which will go with this, since the brief time prevents me from having another copy made. I have also had placed upon it what each figure signifies, the explanations being in the petition which I placed before the Audiencia, a copy of which goes with the documents above mentioned.

On the twenty-ninth of April of this year it was God's will that there should be so great a fire in this city that, within two hours, there were burned one hundred and fifty houses, among them the best of the city, and the thirty-two built of masonry, one of

which was mine.¹⁸ Not having any people to help me, I could not save its contents, and only with the greatest difficulty did I save my library. The cause of the lack of people to aid in putting out the fire, and taking out from several of the houses what they could, was that the governor had ordered the gates of the cities locked so that no Chinese or Indians could enter—although they would have been of much use, as they have been in other fires which we have had. In the passion of my grief, for I had lost more than six thousand pesos, I said that my house had been burned through the lack of people and the order to shut the gates of the city. This coming to the ears of the governor, he became angry about this also, although he has never said anything to me about it; for the resolution which he adopted of locking the gates could only be based on the idea that the Chinese should not enter, lest they might possess themselves of the city. This could have been guarded against by letting what seemed to be a safe number of Chinese enter—as they never carry arms, and are a wretched and miserable people—and by then shutting the gates of the city and having soldiers to guard the Sangleys who were going about on the inside; and so everything would have been provided against. These occasions of annoyance to the governor might induce him, as he is somewhat hot-tempered, to write to your Majesty concerning me, seeking to discredit me—which I do not deserve, considering the desire which I have to accomplish much in the service of your Majesty, whom I also

¹⁸ La Concepción describes this fire (*Hist. de Philipinas*, iv, pp. 30-32); he states that the loss therein was estimated at a million of pesos, "a loss which indicates how opulent was then the city of Manila."

beseech to be pleased to have me heard in regard to whatever is imputed to me. May God protect your Majesty according to His power, with great increase of your kingdoms and seigniories. Manila, in the Philipinas Islands, July 5, 1603.

The licentiate HIERONIMO DE SALAZAR Y SALCEDO
[*Endorsed*: "Manila; to his Majesty, 1603. The fiscal Hieronimo de Salazar; July 5. Examined on the second of July, 1604. No response to be given."]

Copy of a letter which Chanchian, the chief mandarin of the three who came to this city of Manila from the kingdom of China in the month of June of the year one thousand six hundred and three, wrote in the Chinese characters and tongue to Don Pedro de Acuña, governor and captain-general of the Philipinas Islands for the king our lord, and his president in the royal Chancillería thereof, four days before the said mandarins arrived in the said city; translated from the original of the said letter by a Dominican religious.

Chanchian, of the lineage of Au, who governs the warriors of the province of Hoquien, the envoy of the king of the realm of China, and servant of the eunuch of the lineage of Cou. Because Tio Heng, who is considered a reputable man, has gone to the king of China¹⁶ and told him that from this kingdom there could each year be taken for the king of China a hundred thousand taes of gold and three hundred thousand taes of silver at his expense, so that his vas-

¹⁶ The emperor of China at this time was Wanleh (see VOL. III, p. 228); he died in 1620. See account of his reign (begun in 1572) in Boulger's *Hist. China*, ii, pp. 153-204.

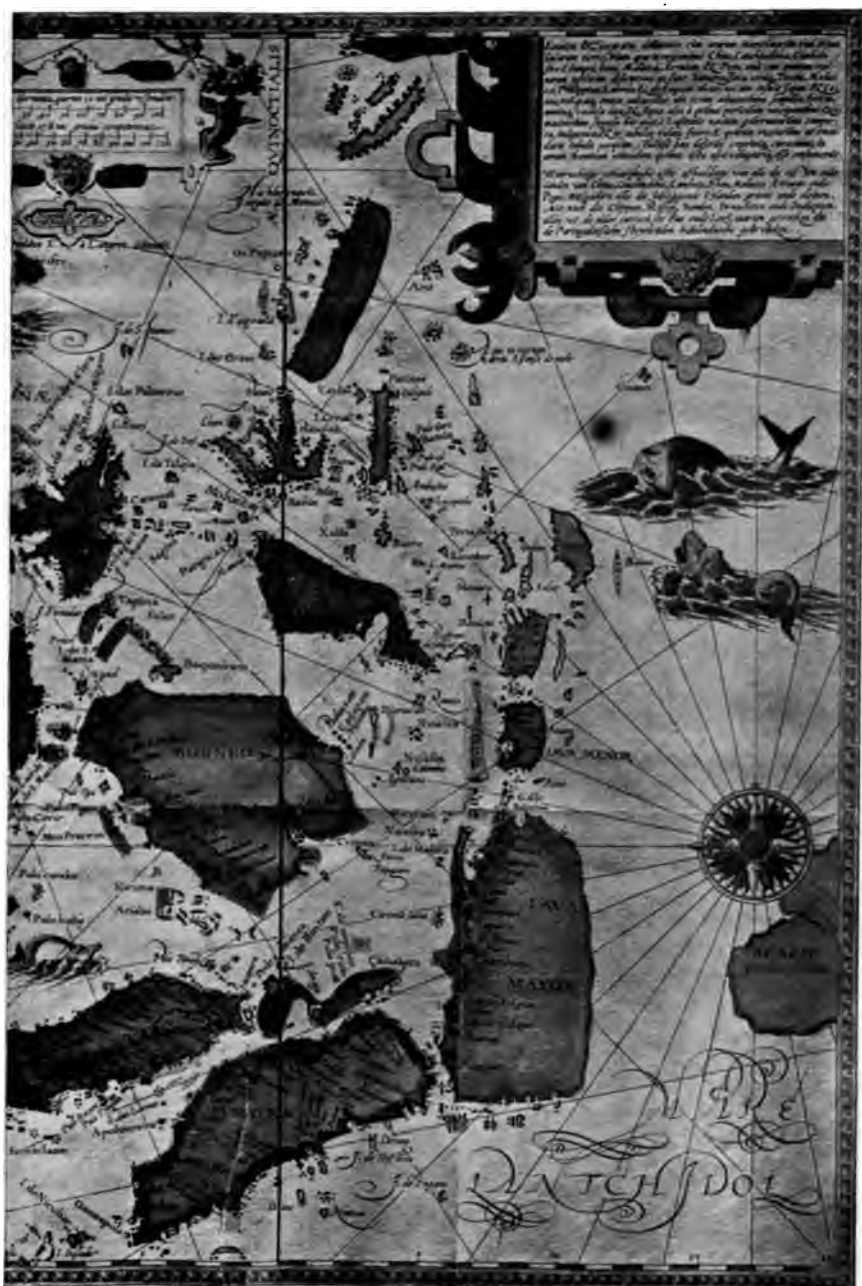
sals should not pay tribute or be molested, the king has sent a eunuch who is called Cochay to take charge of those who have said that there was gold. This Tio Heng with five companions say that outside of the boundaries of Hayten in a place called Lician there is a mountain which is called Heyt Coavite, one lonely mountain in the midst of the wide-spread sea; and that there is no realm to which it belongs or to which the inhabitants pay tribute. In that place is collected much gold and silver. The vassals of that mountain spend gold as freely as if it were *garbanzos*¹⁷ and lentils. He has seen that the vassals of that mountain of Cavite dig and gather it from the earth, and in every house of Cavite he saw, if it were a poor one, a *medida* (which is three gantas), and in those of the rich a hundred gantas of this gold; and they store it up in order to trade with the Sangleys who come there to trade, so that they may buy their property. And he said: "At present you have no gold within your house to spend, and you have no place whence to get it, and it would be much easier to go and get it from that said place than to ask it from your vassals. It is true that I have seen it; and now I have come to tell you this; and I do not ask that you shall give me anything for going for it, but that you should give me permission to go for it. I alone will find the people, and spend what may be necessary to go and dig it. And this year, when they have brought this gold, you can go to see the gold which the captains and merchants have brought who come each year from Luzon. In two years from now I will give

¹⁷ *Garbanzo*: the chick-pea, a sort of pulse commonly used in Spain.

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and their corresponding addresses. The names are listed in a column on the left, and the addresses are listed in a column on the right. The names are: John Doe, Jane Doe, and John Doe. The addresses are: 123 Main St, 456 Main St, and 789 Main St.



Map of China
 Jan Huygen van Linschoten
[From original (in colors)].



and East Indies
(Amstelredam, CIO. 10. XCVI)
in Boston Public Library]

you twice the gold and silver that I have promised you, and with this you may be satisfied; and the kingdom and the vassals will rejoice. This affair is serious and of great importance." The king gave permission that this should be done, and the eunuch named Cochay, with these mandarins, is accompanying Tio Heng to Luzon to reach the mine of gold and see whether there is or is not such a mine, when they will go back to the king and inform him. From all provinces there came people to the king to tell him that this kingdom of Luzon was as small as a cross-bow pellet; and that they have never heard that there was gold there, as Tio Heng says, but that he is lying. On this account the merchants of Hayten did not go to seek permission, nor did they dare to go to Luzon; but the judge of Chiochio ordered that they should fulfil their contracts with the said Tio Heng, and see whether there was gold or not. This is all their business, and therefore the governor of Luzon may rest secure, and without apprehension or suspicion of evil. I am quite certain that Tio Heng is lying, and command that they shall go immediately to learn whether there is gold or not, and order that an interpreter [*naguatato*] should go with them to see whether or not there is gold. They say that they wish to hasten their departure, and that they do not wish to stay in this land, giving occasion for complaints, and, believe me, you cannot detain us. Dated the thirty-first year of the reign of Landec, on the tenth of the fourth moon, which is the present month of May according to their reckoning.

[At the beginning of the Spanish translation are the following sentences, apparently memoranda by some clerk or interpreter:]

Copy of the letter which the chief Chinese mandarin of the three who came to Manila wrote at sea to the president, governor and captain-general of the Filipinas.

Mandarin is the same word as governor in Castilla.

The viceroys of the kingdom of China are for the most part eunuchs, and to that end the king brings up a number of them in his house; it is said that there are fourteen thousand from whom he may choose.

Cavite is the principal port of the Filipinas, and lies three leagues from Manila. Luzon is the name of the island on which Manila is situated.

Copy of the petition and information given by the fiscal of the royal Audiencia of the Filipinas concerning the three mandarins who came to the city of Manila.

Most potent lord: The licentiate Geronimo de Salazar y Salcedo, your fiscal in the royal Chancillería of the Philipinas Islands, will relate this as best he can. On Friday, which I reckon to be the twenty-third of this present month of May, there entered into this city three infidel Sangleys, who came in the last-arrived ships from the kingdom of China; and they wear the garments and caps which are usually worn in that kingdom by the great mandarins – for it is thus they call those who serve their king in some high office of justice. They say that they came by his order to see if there is a hill of gold in the port of Cavite; for he has been informed that his Chinese vassals who trade and traffic in these said islands bring a quantity of gold on which they do not pay him duty; and, that they may pay it, he wishes to

know the truth. The said three Sangleys, who claim to be mandarins, go out from their houses on their way to this city, seated in chairs upon the shoulders of four Sangleys; and, attached to their persons, on each side go six of their guards armed as archers. Before them walk two Sangleys who bear suspended from their shoulders a porcelain case in which it is said they carry their chapas which indicate that they are mandarins, which is the same that we here call "decrees" and "royal commissions." Behind them goes another Sangley on a horse, who is said to be the secretary of the three mandarins. Before them go in file six Sangleys with staves upon their shoulders, on the ends of which are white tablets with characters of gold, which is said to be the insignia of alguacils. Six other Sangleys carry little banners of different colors, with characters written upon them in the Chinese tongue, which are said to indicate the great authority and wide jurisdiction of the said mandarins. One Sangley, who they say is a minister of justice, bears a piece of cane as thick as one's arm, lacquered in black. Among these goes a Sangley with two small kettle-drums and four others with canfonias and other musical instruments which they use, all of them playing. Before all these people go six Sangleys, two of whom carry two iron chains, which are said to be to put on those whom they are ordered to arrest; two others carry two cords tied to sticks upon their shoulders, which are said to be to tie those whom they are ordered to flog; the other two, who are called *upos*, which is the same as executioners in España, bear two half-canes four dedos wide and a braza long, with which they flog the delinquents, whom if they wished they could kill with

a few strokes. Between these go two Sangleys each one of whom cries out in his own language from time to time, with loud shouts; and it is said that they are calling out, "Make way, for the mandarins are coming," and as soon as they come out of their houses, and until they enter them again, these cries are kept up. When the Sangleys meet the mandarins, they flee from them and hide themselves; and if they cannot do this they bend their backs very low with their arms extended upon the ground, and remain in this position while the mandarins pass, which is quite in the form and manner which is customary in the said kingdom of China. Sunday afternoon in front of the house of one of the said mandarins they [*MS. torn - whipped?*] an Indian or mulatto in the street before the house of the said mandarin (the latter being at the window), in judicial form according to the Chinese usage. Yesterday, Monday, they flogged a Sangley in his own house; and another one they put to the hand-torture, quite according to their usage. Two of those who are said to correspond to alguazils, bearing the said banners as a sign thereof (just as the long staves of justice are borne in España), seized a Christian Sangley in the [*MS. illegible*] of the licentiate Christoval Tellez de Almazan, your auditor of the said royal Audiencia, saying that they were going to take him before a mandarin, who had ordered them to seize him; but when they were outside of the house of Doctor Antonio de Morga, an auditor of the said royal Chancillería, he came to a window at hearing the noise, and stopped them. He did so because this is administering justice, and all these things are insignia thereof - whence no little scandal has arisen in this city of Manila, on account of the

grave offenses which have been committed here by the said persons who call themselves mandarins, and by the others whom they have with them. I give information of this so that suitable action in this matter may be decided upon and decreed, and which, if necessary, I offer my services to investigate. I beg and beseech your Highness to command and decree whatever may be fitting in such a case, and that information may be given concerning this my petition, and concerning what may be decreed in regard to it, in order to inform thereby the royal person of your Highness for which, etc., I demand justice.

The licentiate GERONIMO DE SALAZAR Y SALCEDO

In public session on the twenty-seventh of May in the year one thousand six hundred and three. Let the investigation be immediately made, and committed to the secretary, and the results brought up for judicial action.

ESQUIVEL

[Then follows the above-mentioned investigation – depositions by various persons, corroborating the statements of the fiscal; and a decree by the governor, forbidding any Chinaman to insult or molest the mandarins, and the latter to exercise any rights of justice in Spanish territory.]

RESIGNATION OF HIS OFFICE BY THE BISHOP OF NUEVA SEGOVIA

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In the city of Manila of the Philippine Islands, on the fourth of July in the year one thousand six hundred and three, before me, the notary and the undersigned witnesses. The most reverend Señor Don Fray Miguel de Benavides, the first bishop of Nueva Segobia of the said islands, member of the Council of the king our lord, declared that – inasmuch as his royal Majesty Don Philipe the Third, our lord and king, had been pleased to choose him, and present him to the notice of his Holiness the most holy father, the Roman pontiff, as archbishop of this archbishopric of Manila, and appreciating so fully the grace shown therein by his Majesty, and desiring to fulfil the royal will and pleasure as a faithful vassal, and for other reasons important to the service of God and that of the said king our lord, and for the good of the souls in this land – from the present moment he did relinquish the said bishopric of Nueva Segobia. This he has done as soon as he can and ought, and in conformity with law, in order that his Majesty may present for the said bishopric whomsoever he shall please; and he accepted, and does accept, in

such form as is authorized and required by law, the archbishopric of Manila; and he took, and does take when necessary, the duties and obligations thereof, and its government upon his shoulders, corporally and spiritually, in order to administer them conformably to the requirements of canonical law. And as he makes the said resignation and the said acceptance, he desires me, the present notary, to make public declaration thereof in due form, and asks that those present shall witness and sign it. The witnesses are: The father provincial of the Order of St. Dominic, Fray Juan de Santo Tomas; the father Fray Juan Bautista, guardian of the said Order; and the father Fray Pedro de San Vicente, vicar of the Christian Chinese.

FRAY MIGUEL, bishop of Nueva Segovia.

I, Benito de Mendiola, apostolic notary. By the apostolic authority of the Holy Office of the Inquisition in this archbishopric, I was present with the other witnesses at the above notarial act, and at the end affix my signature, in testimony of the truth thereof.

BENITO DE MENDIOLA, apostolic notary.

We, the undersigned, do hereby certify and declare that Benito de Mendiola who has sealed and signed this instrument, is the notary of the Holy Office in this archbishopric, and exercises his office of apostolic notary for any documents which may be presented to him. Therefore entire faith and credit must be given to all documents which have passed or do pass before him in or out of court. That this may be evident, we give the present; at Manila, on

the fourth of July in the year one thousand six hundred and three.

FERNANDO DE ALANIS, public notary.

FRANCISCO DE VALANTE, public notary.

JHOÀN FERNANDEZ DE APARICIO, public notary.

LETTERS FROM BENAVIDES TO FELIPE III

Sire:

I arrived in this city of Manila, having accepted the favor, so signal, which your Majesty has conferred upon this his most insignificant vassal and servant, by the royal decree of your Majesty; this was presented to the dean and chapter of this church, who complied with it promptly, and delivered to me the government, in which I am now installed.

I find this city and country in so afflicted and ruined a condition, and the minds of many of the Spaniards, including the principal ones here, so anxious, and desirous of leaving this country, that it causes me much concern. I am not overcome at confronting the very great and continuous hardships which result; but, without counting those dating back to the time of Don Francisco Tello, those of this year alone are enough to put us in great straits. Even the Indians have taken such courage against the Spaniards, that they came from Mindanao in battle array, to harry our coasts; and they have taken captive Spaniards, and even two priests – to say nothing of innumerable Indians, whom they seize to sell into slavery among infidels, where it is very likely that they will abandon the faith. They have destroyed villages and

churches, and taken away much valuable spoil; and at one time it was only through the mercy of God that they failed to capture the governor, Don Pedro de Acuña. Other Indians, called Camucones,¹⁸ a wretched people, have also brought misfortunes upon our people. There arrived this year two of the ships of those which went to Nueva España. The cloth sent in one of them came back badly wet, and ruined. On this day, the first of May, occurred in this city a conflagration – a most grievous loss, for, according to the account of those who were present, it was no ordinary fire, but burned the richest quarter of the city, and the convent of St. Dominic (which was the largest here), and the royal hospital for the Spaniards. It all happened in so singularly short a time that no goods or property could be gotten out of the houses; accordingly, much of the merchandise which arrived in the ships was consumed. This was especially disastrous as this poor Spanish people, who were expecting some alleviation of their misfortunes through the returns from their property sent to Nueva España this year, lost even that consolation; for the ships from Mexico for these islands this year were despatched thence very late, and arrived here at the time when those from here were departing. These are already very late, and are in great danger that what has happened in years past will occur again – that is, to return to port, or be lost in these seas. This is not the only evil, for very little of the money which has come belongs to the citizens of this country, whereas there is much belonging to Mexi-

¹⁸ The name of the Moro pirates who inhabit the little islands of the Sulu group east of Tawi-tawi, and the islands between these and Borneo.

cans and Peruvians. It is said that not more than a hundred and fifty thousand pesos has come of the citizens' money, for all the islands, out of all the amount graciously allowed by your Majesty for this country, which amounts to five hundred thousand pesos; and that all the rest belongs to Peruvians or Mexicans. The calamity is so great that for some of the residents of these islands their agents in Mexico bought licenses at a high price, so that they might send them their own money. It is very certain that the viceroy of Mexico is not to blame for these things, as he is well known to be an excellent Christian; but some one or other is deceiving him, to the ruin of this community.

To all these troubles of ours is added another, which causes anxiety enough. One of the Chinese who came here, a chair-maker and carpenter, returned to China. He must be a man of courage and ambitious designs; for he went to the court of the king of China and, with others like himself, proposed to trouble our peace. They found a man of note, who by birth inherits from his ancestors, in the succession due the eldest son, the right to be captain of the guard of the king of China. His lineage is called Liang, and his office Pacu, while his own name is Yameng. He must be something of a spendthrift (for he is very poor), and restless in temperament. He gave ear to the said chair-maker, named Tien-guen, and to his companions. The opportunity seemed to them favorable; and they decided to petition for the conquest of this country under the cloak and pretext which the situation afforded them, saying that there was a mountain here called Keit and that this mountain is entirely of gold, and other

things – which your Majesty may examine, if you so wish, in the petition and memorial in this matter which was presented to the king of China, and a copy of which, translated into Castilian, *de verbo ad verbum*, I am sending your Majesty. This Keit is the port of this city, which we call Cabite, the Chinese calling it Keit. They imagined and told a thousand lies to one word of truth, all with the intention and desire of having the king of China give them permission to get together troops and go out to sea, and once there, either to come to conquer this country, or to become pirates and rob, in China itself or wherever they could. The king of China demanded pledges that what they were seeking was real, and not a deception by which they were to become robbers and pirates; and as this Liang Paou is a man of such standing, he furnished three hundred or more men as surety. All the viceroys of the realms and provinces of China and their councils (who reside with the viceroys) – to the number of thirteen great realms and provinces, which they call Pouchenti, beside the two powerful provinces and courts [or “circuits”] which they call Kin, one called Lam Kin, which means “the court of the southern region,” and the other Pac Kin,¹⁹ which means “the court of the northern region” – all the said viceroys and councils wrote to the king, trying with many arguments and examples to persuade him that what these deceivers said was false, and that he should beware of them; all this

¹⁹ These names are corrupt Spanish renderings of the Chinese names Nanking and Peking. For accounts of the “Middle Kingdom,” or China proper, and its provinces, and the origin and meaning of their various appellations, see W. Winterbotham’s *Chinese Empire* (London, 1796), i, pp. 40 *et seq.*; and S. Wells Williams’s *Middle Kingdom* (New York, 1871), i, pp. 3 *et seq.*

your Majesty may see, if you are so pleased, by the documents, which I send translated into Castilian. But the devil, who seeks his opportunity, furnished these evil men with a king so filled with greed and so overpowered by it that he is almost mad on the subject; and his actions indicate this, for he has had men made of gold and women of silver, and has them at his feasts and gives them drink. He sent to every one of his realms one of his eunuchs, who, in order to secure gold and silver for the king, exacted great tributes from the vassals. The empire of China feels very much oppressed by this, as the Chinese here tell us, without any secrecy, that they believe that there will be within two years, more or less, conspiracies and rebellion in China. As the king is such a man, and the adventurers furnished the said sureties, he was not willing either to follow the advice of the viceroys and their councils, or entirely to reject it. He commanded certain judges and mandarins to come to examine Keit personally, and see whether what was said of it was true or false. Accordingly, there came this year, in this month of May, three mandarins in all their majesty, to this city of Manila. Governor Don Pedro de Acuña received them and treated them very courteously and very prudently, although to some persons this seemed unreasonable; and it certainly was an irregular proceeding to give them permission to go to Cavite to see whether there was gold or not. They went there, and took with them the said chair-maker and carpenter Tienguen, whom they brought from China for this purpose. The mandarins commanded Tienguen, when they arrived at Cavite, to show them where the gold was and have done with it. The man answered with good

courage, in a word, and said to them, "If you choose that this be gold, gold it will be; but if you do not, it will not be gold. I tell you that you should cut off the heads of the Indians of this country, and you will find their necks all covered with chains and necklaces of gold; and this is the gold that I told you of." Finally the governor sent back the said mandarins, apparently satisfied; and he wrote to the viceroy, the eunuch, and the inspector of the town and kingdom to which the Chinese who came here belonged. By one of these men Governor Don Pedro de Acuña wrote a very discreet letter concerning the matter. Now we are waiting to see how the greed of the king of China and of his eunuch will be affected by these things, and what measures the captain of the guard and the sureties will take to right their falsehood and save their lives; for, if they are declared impostors, they will lose their lives. We hope in the Lord, that He will look upon this Christian community which is being founded here, and will calm the feelings of the Chinese in this region; and that, if they come, they will find that the governor has the country so well prepared that either they will not go back, or will return in such a state that they will not desire to come here again. This country could be with little difficulty, if the viceroy of Mexico provides sufficient aid, put in such a condition that this war need not be greatly feared. I was the first one who learned of this matter, and who protested. I informed the governor of the matter, and afterward, on St. Dominic's day and on St. Francis's day, I likewise explained the whole affair to the congregation, quite publicly in the pulpit, so that the truth might be known — as well as the importance in which I held this, being a man who

knows the language of these Chinese, and is acquainted with many of their affairs and customs in China, having spent many months there. I also did this that the affair might be taken up prudently and carefully, as there might be counselors to advise ill in the matter, not understanding it. With this affair, and its many misfortunes, this country is much troubled; and there is great need of aid on the part of your Majesty. Likewise, of late years, there have not been wanting omens and warnings in this country. A notable warning that they tell of, is two stars that fought with one another, going backward and then returning to the encounter – a thing which seems supernatural; finally, one of them moved toward Manila, and the other one toward China. I do not count these things for much; but this thing is of much importance, namely, a sadness and depression on the part of the Spaniards, which is so great that discreet and Christian people have remarked it. What makes me fear much, Sire, is not what I have told of, but what I shall now tell your Majesty – although I know that your Majesty will say that I am unreasonable, and will feel much aggrieved that I am so intrusive. The first matter is the continual sodomy which the Chinese practice in these islands to so great an extent, and communicate to the Indians – which is the worse, for the Indians were formerly most clean in this matter, so far as can be learned. God will consume us all with fire some day, or in some other way destroy us, since we, a Christian people, are tolerating and supporting in our own country a people so given to this vice. Each year one of the auditors takes in charge the expulsion of the Chinese, and this comes to no purpose except that such auditor gives a living

or enrichment to some friend or relative of his; since for every license that they give for remaining here they take, besides the tribute for your Majesty, two reals from each Chinaman; this is a large tribute, as there are always eight or ten thousand of them. This is without counting the additional payments which, if the auditor or the person he appoints wishes to open his hand to receive, will amount to a great deal. While I am writing this, I am in receipt of a note from the commissary of the Holy Office, in connection with this matter, which, as it is so much to the purpose, I will give here in full. It is as follows: "Jesus be with your Lordship. Several Sangleys tried to persuade me to procure for them licenses to remain in the country, but I would not consider the matter. A few days later they came with the licenses, and told me that each one had cost them twenty reals, amounting to five tostons. If this goes on in this way, what they tell me of past years appears probable — namely, that the licenses cost seventy thousand pesos, since there was more fraud. May our Lord protect your Lordship." These are the words of the said commissary. [*In the margin:* "So great an excess seems to be an exaggeration, and it did not occur at a time when the auditors could attend to this."]

These two reals from each Chinaman for the license, each year, ought to be expended to pay the salary of the man appointed by the auditor, and for other matters. These Chinese are never effectually driven out, nor is their number diminished, and I fear that these Chinese will not be driven out until God, for the sins against nature which we permit in this country, has destroyed us; for it is our greed which

maintains them. The Jesuits²⁰ alone, have on their cultivated lands about two hundred and fifty Chinese, each of whom is worth and pays to them each month four reals and a fowl (which is worth four more), and each Friday a certain number of hen's eggs, and an equal number of goose eggs. Besides this, the Chinese give either fruit or garden truck, and are made to plant fruit-trees. This is in a single small settlement, called Quiapo, situated near this city. The Jesuits have other fields also in this neighborhood. The Augustinians have many other fields in the village of Tondo, which lies directly across the river from this city; I am told that they have in these two hundred and fifty more Chinese. The master-of-camp, Pedro de Chaves, and other persons, also have farms, all full of this sodomy. With the protection of these and many other persons, these men are maintained, and this vice is kept alive in this your Majesty's land. Lord, have mercy; Lord, have mercy; Lord, have mercy! I beg of your Majesty to have compassion upon us, and, since your Majesty has conferred upon me the gift of this archbishopric, to favor and aid me; for greed is most puissant, and, if there be no fear of punishment, it will support the sodomites and heretics. The governors and the auditors all are glad to have the religious write favorably of them to your Majesty and to the auditors of the royal Council of the Indies; they will therefore, tolerate much, for

²⁰ In the official transcript of this document furnished us from the Sevilla archives, this word is written *teatinos* ("Theatins") – apparently the copyist's conjecture for an illegible or badly-written word in the original MS. But the Theatins had no establishments in the Philippines; and the mention of Chirino in the second of these letters (next following this one) of Benavides proves that he referred to the Jesuits (Spanish *iesuitas*), not to the Theatins.

they are unwilling to displease the religious orders. I must speak the naked and evident truth, Sire; and, for the love of God, those who are guilty of this vice should be sent out of the realms of your Majesty, and this black Parian be taken from them. They should all go forth and return to their own country; and those who come here for commerce should remain in their ships, at least at night. There are already enough married Christian Chinamen here who can and will care for the fields, and they will engage in other employments. If it be impossible to maintain all the buildings with the promptness and abundance of laborers and craftsmen that they have at present, yet this is a small matter, and such as occurs in Hespafia and Ytalia. For if your Majesty gives permission for a hundred to remain here, ten thousand will remain; for the governors, auditors, religious, and confessors who are interested, and the captains likewise, will take advantage of the opportunity that your Majesty leaves open, with a thousand evasions, and arguments that since your Majesty gives permission for a hundred, it should also be given for other hundreds and other thousands. Accordingly, for the love of God, let there come a decree and with it a reiterated injunction from your Majesty similar to the most Catholic and potent decision of the Catholic monarchs, Don Fernando and Dona Ysabel, your Majesty's progenitors, putting an end at once to these evils and driving these people from the lands of your Majesty, as did the said sovereign monarchs. Not even considering their royal tributes, at one stroke they drove all the Moors and Jews from Hespafia, and that deed they considered as their glory. Your Majesty must not think that these people are only in

or about Manila, for they are through the whole country and scattered all about; and they are spreading this diabolical crime and other vices throughout the whole land, and even their evil doctrines. In spite of this even the religious, as well as the others, tolerate them for the temporal advantages in building and other affairs, which they find in the Chinese. If we be not very pure toward God and justice and reason, a thousand will lead us to love and take pleasure in temporal affairs and interests.

The second cause for these heavy punishments is the excessive wickedness which exists among the Spaniards and Indians in the sin of carnality. The third cause is the disregard of your royal decrees and mandates. This has brought ruin upon the country; and as, in truth, just laws are the strong walls of kingdoms, so on the contrary the violations of such laws are the breaches through which enters ruin. Besides this, into this country has come a doctrine of evil theologians and jurists and confessors, who, weakening the force of the laws of the kings in their relation to the conscience, open a very broad field for the violation of what your Majesty so justly and prudently orders. [*In the margin*: "I say this in regard to the decrees which concern commerce between these islands and Mexico, as well as several others."]

The fourth cause is a neglect of punishment against the *alcaldes-mayor*; nor is any investigation of importance carried on against them, nor are they in any way punished. This is a great pity, and as those who are going to be their successors take their *residencias*, they accommodate one another, and the Indians dare not speak. Other persons, more

shrewd, even say that they will make any claims during the residencias, since that is of no use except to point out the way to robbery which the predecessor trod, so that the successor may follow him. These things have always caused me grief; but now that I have these souls in charge it weighs upon me much to see these evils and the little redress which comes, Sire, from your Majesty's powerful hand. I seek from your Majesty no more show of authority for the correction of these evils than belongs to me by right of office, in order to make no display of ambition; for even in matters which belong properly to my office I feel that my powers are very limited and not at all adequate to its demands. But I hope in the Lord that He will inspire in the heart of your Majesty a desire to introduce some effective remedy sufficient for these evils, since their character is self-evident. Manila, July 5, 1603.

FRAY MIGUEL, archbishop elect of Manila.

Sire:

I have written another more detailed letter to your Majesty, and in this I shall give a brief account of several matters that should be set right. I express the desire for this under a greater sense of obligation, and the more confidently, because your Majesty has so considered this minister, vassal, and servant of yours in appointing me archbishop of this city—which appointment I have received, and have delivered to the chapter of the church your Majesty's letter to that effect and announcing that I had been given the government of it, and its occupancy.

This city and these islands are most poverty-stricken, and harassed by a thousand troubles from

heaven – what with the fires, and the enemies, and (worst of all) our own friends and brothers, the vassals of your Majesty. The people from Mexico have borne down on this unfortunate country this year, in a very inundation. To repair the ruin which the Mexicans and Peruvians are bringing upon us, and in order to discover and rid ourselves of those here who are in partnership with them, the cabildo of this city, through their procurator, presented me with a petition asking me for this purpose to excommunicate such persons. I, who hold the name of excommunication in great awe, when it is placed generally upon this land (where there is not so much fear of God as in España), did not grant the excommunication; but I drew up a petition, and presented it to the royal Audiencia. To this they issued the reply which I beg your Majesty to have examined together with my petition; I am sending your Majesty a copy of the aforesaid petition and of their action thereon. If the members of this royal Audiencia were auditors, and not court alcaldes, I would not have recourse over there, but here, as to alcaldes of court, giving information and denouncing a crime amounting to public robbery, and opposed to the general welfare of all this community – for the loss and thievery falls on all alike, and is greatly against this realm – which can be so easily proved; and since the proof is so easy, I do not dare enter with the power and sword of the church. This response, saying that they will inquire about it, is not a thing of today only. I am surprised at such a response in a criminal case, (for in this matter I have proceeded not only *ad petitionem partis*, [i.e., “as a private suitor”] but also *ex officio*), on account of both the publicity of the

wrongdoing, and the authority of the denunciation. I see here no evidence of the functions of the court *alcaldes*, although it is a country where this authority and this office is very necessary. If I speak in these matters, they can tell me that I am a theologian; and, in short, they will act as they please. Accordingly I present this to your Majesty, so that, if what I say has any weight, redress for this evil may be obtained. It is certain that even if it were only to keep anyone from imagining that this concerns any of the *Audien- cia*, or any of their friends or kinsmen, it would be well to investigate this matter. Indeed, I do not know who could singly bring an action against the individual members of this company, but this should be done against all, for they all cause the loss to all. In short, the matter will remain without investigation, and the partnerships undisturbed, while our ruin will increase. Although I see this, I know not if I shall dare in spite of all this to impose an excommunication; for I have little faith in the consciences of some persons here, especially in matters touching their profits.

It is very necessary that your Majesty should order by royal decree and reiterated injunction [*sobre carta*] in the immediate future, what you have already so justly ordered – namely, that the offices and profitable positions in the country be not given to the servants and kinsmen of the governors and auditors, who certainly obtain them from time to time. Such people alienate the residents here. Although I may appear impertinent in saying it, it is true that I fear it is of more advantage to be a servant, or married to a servant, of an auditor, than to be bishop. I say this not alone regarding those who are here, but also on

account of the connection of the viceroy of Mexico with affairs pertaining to this country. On this subject I am sending, together with this, a clause of a letter written to me a few days ago by the fiscal of your Majesty, the licentiate Geronimo de Salazar y Salcedo, who went to inspect the ships which have just come from Mexico. It is very important for the royal exchequer of your Majesty, and to everyone, that neither the viceroy of Nueva [España] nor the governor here should have any authority in such affairs, nor in any in which they have an interest, or which concern the auditors; and all matters in this state should be removed from their power.

I am informed that the cabildo of the church and that of the city have written, and are now writing, in regard to the seating of the wives and daughters of the auditors, and what should be conceded to the city officials. It certainly appears unfitting that in the main chapel of the cathedral, which is not very large, the priest, the ministers, and the archbishop or bishop, when they are in the most exalted part of the ministration at the altar, should encounter immediately under their eyes, handsomely dressed women and girls. I do not think that this is in accordance with the sacred canons, or with the lofty contemplations which alone are fitting at the altar, and the devil greatly prizes all that he may gain there. This has come to such a pass that even the alcaldes-mayor desire that, in their own districts, their wives should enter into the main chapels, even though the bishop be present. One of them had a fierce quarrel with me over the matter, but both he and his wife paid for it to God, a short time after, and are still suffering for it; and we know not when their punishment will end,

for they pay with their honor and peace of mind. Further, it is not right that the wives of the auditors should be placed ahead of the city officials. They tell me that even the children and brothers-in-law of the auditors are sometimes seated on the bench of the city, and in the best seats. I am told that in the days of the former Audiencia neither the wives of the auditors nor that of the governor entered the chapel. Certainly it seems that to have them enter (particularly in Holy Week) when the offices are celebrated below the steps of the great altar, cannot be endured. Moreover, in this time of *sede vacante*²¹ a concession has been obtained from the clergy that is not customary, as I am told, in the chancillerias of Valladolid and of Mexico. I beseech your Majesty to have me advised of your will in all respects, and to be pleased to have much consideration given to the fact that the altar and its ministers are in much confusion, and that things should not be introduced which are vanity, but only such as are fitting to the grandeur due to the office of ministers of your Majesty. As for the cities, they too are representatives of your Majesty, and it is just that, as such, they should be honored. What I mention as allowed here *sede vacante*, which is not customary in Valladolid or in Mexico, is the giving, as is reported, of the pax²² to the auditors.

²¹ "The see being vacant" — for Benavides had but just arrived at Manila, and an interregnum of nearly five years had elapsed since the death of his predecessor, Santibañez.

²² Referring to a ceremony performed at mass, also known as the "kiss of peace." This was given at mass from the earliest times, in the various Catholic branches of the Church. In the Western churches, "it was only at the end of the thirteenth century that it gave way to the use of the 'osculatorium' — called also 'instrumentum' or 'tabella pacis,' 'pax,' etc. — a plate with a figure of Christ on the cross stamped upon it, kissed first

The religious orders are generally defective in a matter pertaining to the instruction; it is a most serious defect, and demands your Majesty's interference. I fear that at times it occurs through ignorance or want of reflection; and I am not sure if there be not mixed with it, now and then, a lack of affection for the Indians. They are wont to maintain certain mission villages, where they have baptized several, or even a goodly number; and then they leave them, and the bishop has no one to station there; thus souls are lost, and those baptized return to their idolatries and old ways of life – as is the case even now. It is possible that if they abandoned missions of some value, some secular clergyman might be found to go to them. But they only abandon those that no one desires – unless it be the devil, to take them away with him to hell. We are not taught to do this by the theologians and the jurists in matters of distributive justice, wherein they say that in certain times of need the less valuable benefices are to be given in turn to the most worthy of the priests, on account of the greater need of faithful ministration among the souls in the poorer benefices.

Some of the religious, too, who are good missionaries and good linguists, leave here – their superiors giving them permission, as they find that they are restless, and cannot be quieted by kind methods. But this is a great pity: in the first place, on account of the religious, who thus go astray in soul; and, again, for the poor Indians, so needy as they here are. Neither by the priest, then by the clerics and congregation. Usually now the pax is not given at all in low masses, and in high mass an embrace is substituted for the old kiss, and given only to those in the sanctuary" (Addis and Arnold's *Catholic Dictionary*, p. 497).

is it right that your Majesty should go to such expense to bring religious here, and then have them depart one after another – perhaps because they are not chosen as superiors in their respective orders, and for other trivial reasons – or that the superiors of the religious orders should have power to give them permission to go away. On the other hand, it would be of great advantage to make arrangements with the governor that he should not give them passage; if your Majesty would give the governor notice of this, it would be well.

The Orders of St. Dominic and St. Francis here maintain very strict discipline among themselves, for which many thanks should be rendered to God. In the matter of instruction they are doing wonders in teaching, by word and deed, and in every way are very exemplary. They are, too, no great burden on the Indians, which is a serious consideration; but in the matter I mention, of leaving some missions, and abandoning them to perdition, those fathers are the most lacking, which is a very serious evil. There is no lack of friars to go to other realms, yet to relieve the royal conscience of your Majesty (for which purpose they came to these islands) and the consciences of the encomenderos, and aid these poor Indians to be saved, to take in charge mission-houses, and sustain the children that they have baptized – for these are their children indeed, to whom they are under greater obligation in spiritual matters than if they were their fathers in the flesh – these things they do not attend to. This gives me great sorrow, and particularly as I find that my friars are not very faithful in these matters, and the devil has disturbed them of late years with a spirit of unrest. There is not, and

has not been discovered, a people better disposed to conversion than the Indians of these islands – I mean, as God has now disposed affairs.

It is very necessary that your Majesty should send a visitor for the religious of St. Augustine. He should be a friar from over there in Hespafia, a man of great ability, very observant, fond of poverty, etc. He should not come alone, but with a considerable number of similar religious. He must not come as visitor and vicar-general for a limited time – for the affairs of this Order here are not such that they can be set right in two, three, or four years – but as some friar named de Montoia went to Portugal. If things are as reported – and they must be so, in large part at least – affairs are in a ruinous condition. The one thing that most needs remedy in these islands, Sire, is this matter of the Order of St. Augustine.

At present one of these fathers,²³ named Fray Juan Gutierrez, is being sent by their superiors to the feet of your Majesty. He has been definitor, and has had three offices in his Order, and it has been proposed to make him provincial. I consider him a very modest and religious friar, who will earnestly plead with your Majesty in this matter of the inspection and improvement of his Order. I beseech your Majesty to favor and aid him in all ways.

The religious of the Society live here in an exemplary manner, which is necessary here, and carry out well the Indian missions in their charge. They are reputed excellent in some of their methods of in-

²³ Pérez (p. 63) gives but little information regarding this friar. He seems to have been in the islands as early as 1591, and from 1594 to 1603, engaged in various official duties. In the last-named year he went to Spain and Rome, afterward going to Mexico, where he acted as procurator in 1608.

struction, but it is very necessary that your Majesty should curb them in some matters. Your Majesty should command that what I here relate be investigated. Near this city there is a small Indian village, called Quiapo, which is assigned, it must be by the governors, for the service of the great church of this city. It is pitiful indeed to see how bare it is of every advantage. These Indians feel much aggrieved at the Society's religious, saying that the latter have taken from them their lands and inheritances, to their very houses. The poor Indians are in a most poverty-stricken condition, and certainly one must shut his ears, in order not to listen to what he hears in this matter. It is a great pity that some poor Indians are complaining against the religious having taken from them their paltry property. The said Indians are writing to your Majesty in the matter; I beseech your Majesty to command that it be noted that these are the children, grandchildren, and relatives of the former king of this city, who was here when the Spaniards captured it. He was called Raja Soliman. They only ask your Majesty to protect them from the Jesuits,²⁴ and to cause their lands and inheritances to be returned to them. They consider all laymen as prejudiced judges; for certainly the governors as well as the auditors usually are not willing to incur the displeasure of the religious, as they do not write anything against them either to your Majesty or to any of your Council. If this matter could be entrusted to some religious of St. Dominic

²⁴ In this paragraph, as in one in the preceding letter of Benavides, the official transcription of the text has *teatinos*, where "Jesuits" occurs in the translation; but the mention of Chirinos shows that the latter reading is correct. See note 20, *ante*, on p. 109.

or St. Francis, who have no income or property in this country, as the Augustinians have, or in the lands and property of the Indian villages; the former know the Indian language, and have no need of interpreters – and it is these last who often defeat justice. It would be a great thing if your Majesty could entrust to some of these fathers the affair of these Indians against the fathers of the Society. They tell me even that one of the Jesuit fathers, who went from here as their procurator, is about to claim on their behalf, the donation of the benefice and doctrina of the said village of Quiapo. The name of this procurator is Father Chirinos. They do not make this claim for the sake of the mission or benefice, for it is a very small hamlet; but only because, if they hold the said village as a mission, the Indians will not dare to make any claim against them, or to speak. For the love of God, your Majesty should right this, for the affair itself demands an effective remedy; and at least we, as ecclesiastics and religious, should not scandalize or oppress the poor Indians, or take their property from them. The worst of the matter is that the fathers of the Society maintain with infidel Chinese the lands of these Indians, on which there is only a Sodom. I believe that this infection has been communicated, to some extent at least, to the houses of the Indians; for their proximity, and the teaching that the Indians are receiving, are quite evident. But I have already written at length to your Majesty of this in my other letter, and all that I have written there is little in comparison with the gravity of the matter.

A proceeding that may cause much annoyance is, that the governors assign houses and hospitals to some of the religious without consulting and asking

the opinion of the ordinary, and agreeing with the latter in the matter. For the governors, either to find someone to confess them and overlook these things, or to write to your Majesty and your councils in their favor, or not write to their prejudice, wish to satisfy the religious, and at times in a very unreasonable manner. Your Majesty is already informed of what Don Francisco Tello did here, giving the Augustinian fathers the chapel * of Nuestra [Señora] de Guia, where a secular priest was teaching, and some place or other at the port of Cavite, which came near resulting in great troubles. For the love of God, your Majesty should not leave our peace in the power of the ambition or the personal interests of a governor, but command that this be done immediately, as I understand your Majesty has already disposed and ordered.

It is very necessary that your Majesty should order that if any secular priest commit some transgression, your royal Audiencia should not immediately summon him, but should give notice to the prelate and ordinary to remedy it. This should apply to complaints sent by the alcalde-mayor against the clergyman; the alcaldes-mayor are not so abject that they would not have even then their share of the fault. In short, they are ecclesiastics; and it seems just that in the meantime the prelates should not be behind in punishing them, and in righting matters. The secu-

* Spanish *hermita* (sometimes meaning "hermitage"); a reference to what is now a suburb of Manila, situated on the shore of the bay, and called *Hermita* or *Ermita*. "In its parish church is venerated, with great devotion, the image of its tutelar saint, Our Lady of Guidance - to which holy image were especially commended, in former days, the ships from Nueva España" (Buzeta and Bravo's *Diccionario*, ii, p. 77).

lar clergy should not go, on information that may often be false, before audiencias and tribunals that are not ecclesiastical; for thus the ecclesiastical state is much injured.

The liberty of the cabildo of the city, and due secrecy for matters discussed there are very necessary; and if any secretary or regidor has failed in this matter, it would be highly desirable that your Majesty command that he be punished. If this be not done, your Majesty cannot be informed, or right matters. For the love of God, will your Majesty favor in all matters the city and cabildo, and not leave this matter of favoring them to the governors and auditors; for it is clear that these persons will not be pleased that there should be anyone who can have power to advise your Majesty, or oppose them. I beg your Majesty to be pleased to issue your royal decree so that the city may rent out the privileges of the commission exchange, which they hold by your Majesty's favor; and that provision be made for them to rent it to the Chinese. Further, this concerns the trade of the Chinese, as there is no other trade here, and nothing else for which the said exchange could serve. These men, too, are in great need of aid, both for the marriages of their daughters and for the payment of their debts to the Chinese. Your Majesty should command that permission be given them to have all their money brought from Mexico, as it has remained there these two or three years – which is a great pity, in the condition in which this city is, and with the impaired credit of the Spaniards in their relations with the Chinese. The Chinese merchants, too, are being ruined, because the Spaniards are not prompt with their payments. They weep, and say:

"If we owe anything to the Spaniards, we are straightway thrown into prison until we pay; and if the Spaniards owe us anything, we cannot collect it."

By my other letter and accompanying documents, as well as the letters of others, your Majesty will see how necessary it is that this country should always be in a state of defense. For not only do we fear the Japanese, but the Chinese also seek to disturb our peace. Don Pedro de Acuña is a good soldier, and God will aid him; may your Majesty be pleased to command the viceroy of Nueva España to aid with troops, powder, munitions, etc. In case of the removal of Don Pedro, and always, it is necessary that a good soldier should come here as governor; and if he were that, and supported, not by many powerful persons in Hespaña, but by his own valor and virtue alone, it would be a great advantage.

The great church of this city is without ornaments, and greatly needs to be repaired, lest it fall to the ground. The services of worship there may cease, for there are only four salaried prebends who are obliged to come to the services of the said church, for the offices of the canonical hours, and to be vested at the altar, and to say the high masses and those for your Majesty. Even these four possess very little; and, if one of them should become sick, services could not be properly carried on. Your Majesty has already been advised of all this by way of the cabildo, and, I believe, through the royal Audiencia. I beseech your Majesty to have it remedied.

At the first founding of this city, a site was set apart for the episcopal residence. The place was very convenient, as it is close to the church; but it is very cramped, not containing in all more than about

thirty-seven paces in width, and about seventy-four in length, which is not sufficient for an ordinary citizen's house, which should have a small court. With greater reason there is not room for a prelate, who cannot go out on the plazas for his health and recreation, to take a little air, but who must find some relief within his own house (especially in so hot a climate as this); and who must have apartments for servants, a prison, audience-chamber, and other rooms. I beg your Majesty to send an order that at any rate the archbishop should be assigned a site on which to build a suitable house. As for the building, your Majesty knows well that I have not enough for it unless I be aided; nor have I, either, sufficient to pay six hundred pesos for the hire of a house.

The fathers of the Society claim that your Majesty should give them a university for these islands. This your Majesty should not do, unless you grant the same to all the orders and the secular clergy as well. This is especially true now, among these intrusive machinations. If your Majesty were pleased to entrust to me the regulating of these matters I should endeavor to do so. Still less should the claim of the said fathers of the Society be granted, nor can it, in conscience, be allowed, that they appropriate for themselves, on the plea of using them for these chairs [of instruction], certain revenues from the funds left here by some of the old soldiers as restitutions to the Indians. With these moneys great good has been done for the poor Indians – now redeeming captives from those who carry them away to sell them among the Moros and other infidels, where they lose the faith; again, aiding them in their sickness, and famines, and the like. Indeed, I am unable to comprehend the con-

sciences of men who would attempt to take this money from the poor Indians, and put an end to so good works. May God grant His light to us all.

It has been reported here that your Majesty, or your royal person, is being consulted in regard to the religious going to Japon by way of India. For the relief of my conscience, knowing so much as I do of this, I must say that those who propose such a thing either know nothing of affairs here; or else they know a great deal, and are talking very artfully in the matter, and for the sake of this country intend that the religious should not enter Japon; at any rate, saying that the religious must go through India to preach in Japon is the same as saying that they shall not go to Japon. Sire, the clear and evident truth is that by way of India there is little or no thought of preaching or conversion. Let none deceive your Majesty, our king and lord; for they are gravely in the wrong who would deceive you and not tell you the truth sincerely. Manila, July 6, 1603.

FRAY MIGUEL,

bishop and archbishop elect of ~~Manila~~.

LETTERS TO FELIPE III

LETTER FROM THE AUDIENCIA OF MANILA

Sire:

With the letter which your Majesty graciously sent to this Audiencia informing it of the fortunate birth of the most serene infanta ** our lady, we have received the great satisfaction which should be experienced by all the vassals of your Majesty. Since so great a part of the grace which our Lord has vouchsafed us has fallen to our share, measures will be taken with great care and diligence for the arrangement of celebrations and feast-days, in grateful recognition of so great a good, and of the obligation which your Majesty lays upon us. [*In the margin:* "There is no answer."]

On the twenty-third of this month this Audiencia received as its auditors, in accordance with the commissions which they bear from your Majesty, the licentiates Andres de Alcaraz and Manuel de Madrid y Luna. Doctor Antonio de Morga, who was an auditor thereof, and to whom your Majesty has

** This was the eldest daughter of Felipe III – Anna Maria, generally known as Anne of Austria. Born in 1601, she was married at the age of fourteen to Louis XIII of France; and after his death was regent during the minority of her son, Louis XIV. She died on January 20, 1666.

extended the favor of promoting him to the place of alcalde of the criminal court of the Audiencia of the city of Mexico, will leave with these ships to take up the duty which your Majesty commands and orders him. [*In the margin: "Idem."*]

Last year, the ships called "Jhesus Maria," and "El Espiritu Sancto," left the port of Cavite of this city. After having sailed for a long time and encountered many hardships, the ship named "Jhesus Maria" arrived at the said port, having lightened much of its cargo, at sea, and having been at the point of being lost. The ship "Rosario" (which was the flagship of their commander, Don Lope de Ulloa) arrived, without masts and dismantled, at a port of Japon called Tosse, where it entered at great risk. When it had come there, it appeared that the people of that land were inclined to be friendly with them, and to give them what was necessary to go on and continue their voyage. The said general finding this to be so, and being prudent, as he is an experienced man, and one who has done his duty in all other voyages to everyone's satisfaction, held a council with the religious and the most trustworthy persons in the ship. It was agreed to send a present of several articles which were in the ship, and which were most suited to that country, to the emperor of Japon. This was put into execution, and the present was sent to the said emperor. The Japanese who had gathered in this port at the news of the coming of the ship, moved by their great greed, made an attempt to seize the ship. To accomplish this, and to keep the Spaniards from going away, they began to close the harbor with timbers and trees. They showed their evil designs by giving occasion to the ship's people to

quarrel with them. When the said commander learned this, without awaiting the response, with all diligence he managed to get together the men who were on land, and sailed from the port, preferring rather to submit to the risks of the sea than to the grave one which confronted him in this treachery which accompanied their departure. But when the Japanese saw that he was going out of this port and that their design was known, they had recourse to arms, trying to do by force what they had not been able to do by cunning. But our men defended themselves so well, inflicting some loss on those of that kingdom, that they returned to these islands, which was a very fortunate outcome. Those who were left there, not being able to embark with their commander, have all returned on the ships which come here to trade, together with those who took the present to the emperor. The latter say that they were well received. [*In the margin: "Idem."*]

On the eve of the feast-day of St. Philip and St. James, our Lord saw fit to visit this city with a conflagration of such magnitude that before nightfall half the city had burned, including one hundred and fifty-nine buildings, many of stone and others of wood. Among them were the Dominican convent and the hospital for the Spaniards, of which your Majesty is patron; and almost nothing that was in them was saved. According to the investigations which we have been able to make, the loss will amount to a great sum. It has caused general consternation. Great care will be taken to procure safety from these fires, with which we have been much afflicted. [*In the margin: "Let this be done."*]

Your Majesty commands by decree of February

16, 92, that this Audiencia should give information concerning the expediency of having more of the churches in these islands of stone than of wood, as the latter decays and does not last long. Having investigated and considered this matter, the conclusion is that, although in some parts it would be much better to build the churches of stone than of wood, as the materials are found near at hand, yet in other parts it would be more expedient to make them of wood and tiles, as these materials are abundant there and the stone is at a distance. Beside, the cost which the stone buildings entail would generally be much more than those of wood; and, as your Majesty's treasury here is so embarrassed, it could not bear the cost of building expensive edifices. It therefore seems best that the governor should continue providing for this in the manner most convenient. [*In the margin*: "No answer to be given."]

We received another decree, of the said month and year, directing the order to be observed in the renunciations of clerical offices, which will be executed as your Majesty commands. [*In the margin*: "Let it be so done."]

We have received another decree of your Majesty, of the fifteenth of the said month and year, to the effect that cases in which your viceroys and prelates have by common consent vacated benefices shall not be heard in the audiencias of the Yndias. In so far as regards this Audiencia it shall be so done. [*In the margin*: "The same."]

Likewise there were received two other decrees, in which your Majesty demanded information as to whether it were well to sell the offices of depositaries of this city and of secretary of the cabildo thereof.

The office of depositary is of so little importance that it is certain that no considerable price will be paid for it. That of secretary of the cabildo brings three hundred pesos salary – which, as they have no other funds worthy of consideration, the cabildo gives from its own income and property. Besides, deserving persons are kept in the office who have served in this country, where there is very little to reward them with. Your Majesty will order according to his pleasure. [*In the margin*: “Let the governor appoint to these offices only deserving persons who have served his Majesty and are very trustworthy, until his Majesty shall have ordered otherwise; and let him inform us concerning the person whom he shall appoint.”]

Your Majesty ordered by another decree of the sixteenth of the said month and year that this Audiencia inform him whether it would be expedient to deposit with the royal crown of your Majesty the sum of about twelve thousand pesos, to pay the salaries of his servants. As this despatch arrived so close upon the departure of the ships, there was no time to make definite answer to your Majesty's command. The number and value of the encomiendas in these islands are not exactly known. On the first opportunity they will be ascertained, and your Majesty advised thereof. [*In the margin*: “Let this be done, and let them send the information if they have not done so.”]

The decrees concerning personal services of the Indians, which are dated November 22, 602, were received in this Audiencia. In all its district there are no Indians held to personal service except when there is wood-cutting and the like to be done for the

equipment of ships, or when some expedition is being made for the service of your Majesty, in which case a few Indians are taken. This cannot be dispensed with, because transportation in these islands is entirely by sea, and it is necessary to make levies for rowing the vessels. The same necessity obliges the encomenderos, the religious, and other persons who go from one part to another, to do the same thing. They are always paid justly for their work, and thus far it is not known that any grievance has been done them in any manner, nor have they been left unrecompensed. Great care will be taken that affairs shall be so conducted that they will live content, and the work be secured without harshness. May our Lord protect your Majesty many years, according to the needs of Christendom. Manila, July 2, 1603. [*In the margin*: "Let it be done as they say that they are doing."]

DON PEDRO DE ACUÑA

The licentiate DON ANTONIO DE RIBERA MALDONADO

The licentiate TELLEZ ALMACAN

The licentiate ANDRES DE ALCARAZ

The licentiate MANUEL DE MADRID Y LUNA

[*Endorsed*: "Philipinas: to his Majesty; the Audiencia, July 2, 1603. Examined June 30, 604; provided within."]

LETTER FROM THE FISCAL

Sire:

The licentiate Geronimo de Salazar y Salcedo, fiscal for his Majesty in the royal Chancillería of the Philipinas Islands. The most important reason why the said royal Audiencia is necessary is to redress the wrongs which the governor and captain-general may

commit. Although he who is now in the office acts in a prudent manner, he may be succeeded by another who will not do so, and, if this were the case, nothing could be so suitable as that he who was governor and captain-general should not be president; for if he is so, he will be present at the hearings and meetings, in which case neither the auditors in decreeing, nor the fiscal in petitioning, use the power which they hold. An easy remedy for this would be that the archbishop of Manila should be the president of the Audiencia, his salary being somewhat increased, and that of the governor and captain-general decreased. He would be glad to do this and would not neglect the affairs of his archbishopric, which are not so pressing as to make it impossible for him to take up the duties of the presidency. I might well cite some things which I have seen, which appear to me to demonstrate the inconveniences which might follow from all three offices being joined in one person, but I prefer to pass them over. It is especially so as we are five thousand leagues from your Majesty, and those of us who are imprudent proceed under the impression that what we do here will not be known there. It is evident that the presidency would be better filled by the archbishop than by the governor; for when the latter is president he has means, if he so desire, to keep the auditor from judging and even the fiscal from petitioning, if they be lacking in courage. Your Majesty will order this to be examined, and provide in regard to it as may be most expedient. May God protect your Majesty according to His power and the needs of Christendom. Manila, July 4, 1603.

The licentiate HIERONIMO DE SALAZAR Y SALCEDO

[*Endorsed*: "Manila, to his Majesty; the fiscal, Hieronimo de Salazar, July 4, 1603. No answer to be given to this letter; June 30, 1604."]

LETTERS FROM VARIOUS OFFICIALS AND
ECCLESIASTICS

Sire:

On the fourth of the present month there left this port the ship "Nuestra Señora de la Antigua," one of the two from Peru that I brought in the convoy last year, with the reënforcements of troops, arms, and military supplies which came to these islands. On the morning of the next day the other ship, called the "San Alifonso," left; and in the afternoon arrived the advices and despatches from General Andres Hurtado de Mendoza, who has in charge the armed fleet which your Majesty ordered to be sent to Maluco, and from Captain Juan Xuares Gallinato, who conducted the reënforcements sent by me. By these I was advised of the result of the encounter there, as your Majesty will be particularly informed by the copies which accompany this, to which I refer you for the whole matter, merely adding that it has caused me much grief and anxiety, owing to the dangerous and embarrassed condition of affairs there – not only from the Dutch, whose trade is so well established there, and who are so prosperous; but from the encouragement which it will give to the people of Terrenate and Mindanao, and to others, their confederates and allies, to do all the mischief that they can in those islands. If, while the said armada was at the Maluco Islands the Mindanaos have dared to commit the hostilities of which I have written to your Majesty in other letters, we may fear worse things

now that their friends the Terrenatans are victorious, and more skilful and expert through what their experience and the Dutch have taught them. May God in His mercy prevent this danger.

I would again remind your Majesty of this matter of Maluco and the punishment of the people there, and its importance – as well as of what I wrote concerning the matter from Mexico, and how much evil may result from attending to the matter from India; for that ends in nothing but expenditure of money, waste of men, and the loss of prestige, and results in giving more strength to the enemy. This affair urgently demands promptness, and a person who will give it careful attention. I make offer of myself again, and am right willing to sacrifice myself in the service of your Majesty on this occasion; and I believe that my desire to be of use will cause me to succeed in the fulfilment of my obligations.

With this goes a memorandum of matters which occur to me as necessary, and which, after due examination and consideration, with much thought and reflection, it has seemed best to me to send to your Majesty. The most important thing in these matters is promptness and secrecy; and the latter is most necessary in Hespaña, since there watch can be kept upon the Dutch, so that seasonable preparations can be made in Spain, and they be prevented from becoming masters of Maluco, before we can do so – which would be a very great loss, and one very difficult to repair. May God grant success as He may, and protect the Catholic person of your Majesty, according to the needs of Christendom. Port of Cavite, July 20, 1603.

DON PEDRO DE ACUÑA

[*Endorsed*: "Draw up immediately a succinct relation of what resulted from this fleet that went from Yndia, to deliver to —." "Examined June 14, 1604; no answer to be given."]

Jesus

Sire:

The universal need of these Philipinas has influenced not only the governor and captain-general, the royal Audiencia, and the city government of Manila, but the religious orders as well, to call upon your Majesty, as rightful lord and king of all, seeking humbly the remedy which must come to us from the royal hands of your Majesty.

As for the uprising of the Chinese, I will only say that it might have been averted, if the decrees of your Majesty had been obeyed that prohibit so excessive a number of infidels, accustomed to treachery and perverse habits, from remaining here; and if they were plotting another conspiracy with those that ordinarily come from China, they have been blinded through the great mercy of the Lord, who by their downfall leaves us wiser and with fewer enemies.

The damage and robbery inflicted by the people of Mindanao in these islands could have been prevented if the garrison of Spaniards in that island, which held the pirates in check, had not been recalled. At present the need is all the greater, as they are encouraged by their victories, and our Bisayans are dispirited. In the islands where our humble Society of Jesus teaches, they caused great loss; and during the past month they attacked Leyte, and captured two of our religious, and more than eight hundred natives besides. This was at their first entry,

and gave them courage to continue ravaging other neighboring islands, where the members of our Society are also in danger. This was written me from Zebu, by our provincial who is visiting those islands and missions, where there are many good Christians – and this at great risk to himself. It is a great pity that so new a Christian people should be molested by those from Mindanao, who are infected by the doctrine of Mahoma. It would be easy for your Majesty to give us remedy in this by ordering troops and aid sent from Nueva España, wherewith Don Pedro de Acuña may show his valor and accomplish his wishes; for his services are of great importance here, as your Majesty knows.

Captain and Sargento-mayor Christobal Azuleta [*sic*; *sc.* Azcueta] Menchaca, who always has been an excellent soldier, likewise distinguished himself greatly in this affair of the Chinese Sangleys, achieving two noteworthy victories, wherein were killed more than five thousand of the enemy without the loss of a single Spaniard – of whom he took great care, as they are so few and precious here.

A complete relation of all matters will be given to your Majesty by Fray Diego Guevara,²⁷ prior of the Augustinians of this city, who, as a person of so much religion, experience, integrity, and veracity, is going on this mission on behalf of these islands – where


²⁷ Diego de Guevara, belonging to a noble family in Spain, entered in early youth the Augustinian order, at Salamanca. In 1593 he came to the Philippines with a company of twenty-four missionaries, and held various official positions in his order. In 1602 he founded a convent in Bungo, in Japan. Sent to Spain in 1603, with news of the Chinese insurrection, he did not reach the court until three years later; he remained there until 1610, when he returned to the Philippines as visitor for his order. From 1616 until his death in 1621, he was bishop of Nueva Cáceres.

we are all beseeching God our Lord to protect us, and to prosper your Majesty for many years, with good measure of his choicest gifts, for the greater glory of His Divine Majesty, etc. From this college of the Society of Jesus, Manila, December 10, 1603.

GREGORIO LOPEZ

Sire:

During the month of June just past, in this year, we, of this metropolitan church of Manila, the vassals and chaplains of your Majesty, advised you by the ships which left these islands for Nueva España of the matters that seemed best for your royal service, and for the welfare and usefulness of both this church and this commonwealth, at that time; and to that we at present refer you. As new occasions have come to light, we inform your Majesty, in accordance with our bounden duty, that on the eve of St. Francis' day last past the Chinese Sangleys, who live in the outskirts of this city, rose against it, to the number of twenty thousand, setting fire to the houses, and killing several Spaniards and Indians who lived without the wall. They fought with some of our men, killing one hundred and thirty Spaniards, including many of the most prominent men. They attacked the city, stationing themselves in a large stone church building, which was being completed by the friars of St. Francis, standing three hundred paces from the wall – a very bad situation for it. The city was in great danger from their attack, for there were hardly a thousand Spaniards in it. Our men set fire to the alcayceria of these same Sangleys, which stood about twenty paces from the wall. Our Lord was pleased to deliver us from the many and great dangers in which this, your Majesty's city, found itself; for its



loss would have destroyed the Filipinas, and the Christian community and faith of Jesus Christ our Lord in them, if He had not miraculously delivered us. The enemy abandoned the situation that they had seized, on account of the damage that the artillery did them, and retired to the country inland, where our men pursued them, cutting off and killing them in a very short time. Thus did our Lord remove the danger in which this city and these islands of your Majesty have been so many years, because the governors preceding the one we now have would not comply with and observe the royal decrees and mandates of your Majesty, although they were urged and advised to do so, both in private and from the pulpit. For the good government of this country it would be well for your Majesty to be pleased to provide some efficacious means for the observance and execution of your royal decrees and mandates; since from the failure to do this has resulted the loss we have mentioned, and perhaps still greater is yet to come. We also dread a very large fleet which is expected to come from the kingdom of China against this city. May our Lord, in His mercy, defend and protect this, His cause, and not permit this new plant to be killed.

Toward the end of the past month this city took fire; and, as the wind was strong, half of its houses were burned, including those of the richest citizens and merchants, and the royal warehouses. Through this loss and that of the ships this whole community, both ecclesiastical and secular, is in great straits, hard pressed and very needy. On this account your Majesty will favor it by your royal power, that it may not be ruined altogether. We are confident in the Lord, that if this letter reaches your Majesty's royal

hands, with information in the other matters above mentioned, our Lord will be served, and this commonwealth and the Filipinas Islands aided and favored by your Majesty – whom may our Lord protect during many long and happy years, for the welfare and increase of His dominions. Manila, December 11, 1603.

The chaplains and vassals of your Majesty:

DON JUAN DE BIVERO, dean of Manila.

SANCTIAGO DE CASTRO, precentor of Manila.

The canon DIEGO DE LEON

The licentiate MARCOS MALDONADO, canon.

The canon RANULLO DE CARTAGENA

The canon PABLO RUIZ DE TALAVERA

FRANCISCO DE CAVRANÇA

Sire:

This order has thought best to send to España, to negotiate its affairs, father Fray Diego de Guevara, prior of this house at Manila, as your Majesty will be informed. This has pleased me much, for, besides that business, I have communicated to him things which intimately concern the service of God and your Majesty, which he will explain to you – particularly the need for reformation in this province. I beseech your Majesty, if such be your pleasure, to give him audience, and to remedy without delay the matters concerned. In my opinion, the most important thing is to have some person come here from Hespaña, who is zealous for both services – a man of great energy and integrity, and sufficient power so that, with another of the same qualifications, to be chosen here, as the former there, they can settle this matter aright, for it is very necessary. I refer you to the said father procurator, who will make a complete report con-

cerning this and other matters here. I will say no more than that I am taking this measure because it touches my obligations, and my bounden duty to your Majesty's service. If this be done, I am certain that all will be in fitting order. May our Lord protect the Catholic person of your Majesty, according to the needs of Christendom. From your Majesty's convent of San Pablo, at Manila, December 17, 1603.

FRAY PEDRO ARCE, provincial.

Sire:

The Order of the illustrious St. Augustine which resides in these islands, has need of austere²⁸ friars from Castilla to carry on the conversion which they have wrought in this land, and have commenced in Japon. Some friars of ability will be necessary to help them, considering that those who become friars in Mexico are not esteemed in this country. For this reason the said order is sending father Fray Diego de Guevara, hitherto prior of the convent in this city, to bring religious here. He is a thorough religious himself, and zealous for the good of his order. This convent of your Majesty, and of the minor friars of our father St. Francis, deprives itself of him for the greater good. I humbly beg your Majesty to be pleased to command that the said father be sent back, without delay, so that he may continue to carry out his earnest desires; for in this he does great service to God and to your Majesty, whom may our Lord protect for the welfare and growth of Christendom. Manila, from this convent of Nuestra Señora de los Angeles; December 19, 1603.

FRAY JOAN DE GARROVILLAS, definitor and guardian.

²⁸ Spanish, *reformados*; literally "reformed," but referring to those who belong to religious houses of strict discipline.

THE SANGLEY INSURRECTION

LETTER FROM THE AUDIENCIA

Sire:

By way of Nueva España this Audiencia has informed your Majesty of occurrences up to that time; and although this letter will be very uncertain, as it must go by way of Portuguese India, it has seemed best to write it, giving an account of what has happened since, as it is so important.

By the last letter of this Audiencia, dated on the fifth of July of this year, we gave your Majesty an account of three mandarins from the kingdom of China who had come to this city, and the innovation which they had instituted, on account of which the governor and captain-general considered the plan of fortifying this city, and providing, in case anything should happen, the supplies necessary and suitable for its defense and safety. This caused some disturbance among the Chinese, who began to confer among themselves, in secret, concerning the means of insurrection. Although great care was taken by this Audiencia and the governor to keep them quiet, and to relieve them of the fear which they were said to have on account of the aforesaid precautions, it was not sufficient, and following their resolve, on the night of the last St. Francis' day, at about eleven o'clock, they

revolted. They chose for their leader a Christian Sangley named Joan Untae, who, according to the investigations made in regard to him by this Audiencia, appears to have revolted in the name of one Joan Baptista, governor of the Chinese. On him and the others exemplary justice has been rigorously visited. The Chinese gathered on the other side of the river of this city to the number of ten or twelve thousand, many other people remaining in their Parian and fortifying themselves as well as they could. On this night they burned several houses, and the orchard of a citizen of this city named Captain Estevan de Marquina, with whom they commenced, killing him and his wife and four children and several servants. From here they went to a village called Quiapo, on the other side of the river, which they burned, killing several Indian children and women. The governor and captain-general noticing this, and knowing what had happened on the preceding days when there had been considerable disturbances, notified Don Luis Dasmariñas, formerly governor of these islands, who lived in a place called Minondog, sending him some troops so that he might keep watch of the enemy. On the next morning Don Luis was reënforced by a number of people picked from the citizens of this city, and with these he went to meet the enemy in the place where they were located, which was very near the village of Tondo. The Spaniards went out from there, and having fought with them, as it was a country where there were many thickets and heavy woods, and which was mountainous, the enemy surrounded them with such a number of men that they could not retreat; and at last Don Luis was killed, with more than a hundred Spaniards.

Later, the next Monday, the enemy met, and after their custom drew lots, as usual in war; and finding these in their favor and learning from them, as they say, that they would take this city, they decided to go on to the Parian, and united with the people who remained there. With great force and impetuosity they attacked this city, in several parts of the wall, with many contrivances which they brought along to assault it. Those inside defended themselves well, killing many of the Chinese and doing all they could in our defense. The Spaniards succeeded in setting fire to the Parian, obliging them to retreat to a stone chapel, the erection of which had been begun, twenty paces from the wall, named *Avocacion de Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria*, where our men made a sortie to meet them and caused them great loss. When the Chinese saw that they could not maintain themselves there, they divided into three bands and went inland, doing much damage. An attempt was made to reach them still, for which purpose one of the old captains of this city, called Don Luis de Velasco, was sent with a good force of soldiers. He attacked them one morning at dawn and killed more than three hundred. On the same day, when he returned with the intention of doing them more damage, he went so far into the enemy's country that they killed him there with four or five other soldiers and two Franciscan friars. The enemy placed and fortified themselves in a very strong place called *San Pablo de los Montes*, about fifteen leguas from this city, more or less. They sent to meet him there the captain and sargento-mayor of this camp, Christoval de Axqueta. He, with a hundred Spaniards, a number of native Indians, and some Japanese whom he took with him,

having located them and had a few engagements with them, invested and took their fort, killing many of them. Those who could escape fled, and all those who had remained were overcome and killed. Thence he went on to the other army which was situated in a place called Vatangas, about six leguas from the first. There our men used their utmost efforts to overcome them. Finally, both on account of the laudable efforts of the captain, as he is one of the best soldiers of this camp, being a veteran and a good warrior, and likewise by the good behavior of the soldiers and the help of the natives, they killed all the enemy without losing a man, which was a very fortunate ending. This was the end of this incident, but it has caused much anxiety as to what may be expected from China. On this account provision is being made and everything necessary is being put to rights and the fortifications are being repaired. The governor and captain-general is aiding with great pains and diligence, and he will give a longer account to your Majesty of this incident, to which account we refer you.

The citizens of these islands have been very ready on this occasion in lending aid, as have likewise the natives of this district, particularly those of the provinces of Panpanga, Laguna, and Bulacan.

Father Fray Diego Guebara, prior of the Augustinian convent of this city, is going [to Spain] on the affairs of his province, by which he was chosen and elected for that purpose, as he is a religious of much virtue, learning, and most Christian life, for which reason he was sent to establish the order in Xapon. He did so very satisfactorily. From him your Majesty, if you be so pleased, may order information on

the affairs of this country, of which he will give a full account, as he is well informed in all things. There is nothing else which we can report to your Majesty. May our Lord protect your very Catholic person according to the needs of Christendom. Manila, December 12, 1603.

DON PEDRO DE ACUÑA

The licentiate DON ANTONIO DE RIBERA MALDONADO

The licentiate TELLEZ ALMACAN

The licentiate ANDRES DE ALCARAZ

The licentiate MANUEL DE MADRID Y LUNA

[*Endorsed*: "Manila; to his Majesty; 1603. The governor and Audiencia; December 12. September 26, 1606. Examined, and to be joined with the other papers which treat of this matter."]

TWO LETTERS FROM ECCLESIASTICS

Sire:

This country is greatly in need of relief, for it is rapidly going to destruction. All its injury and loss is due to this, that the decrees and orders of your Majesty, sent for the good government of these islands, are not complied with. If these were observed, there would be no more prosperous city in all your Majesty's dominions. Situated here in sight of so many heathen, it would seem that the Lord had set it here to be a new Rome, whence the gospel would go out through all these kingdoms. The worst of the matter is that there are not lacking persons here who maintain that the decrees of your Majesty are not binding on the conscience, which gives opportunity for some to violate them without any fear. It is nearly seventeen years since the Order of St. Dominic was founded here; and in all this time they have al-

ways preached the importance of obeying the royal decrees, and that, if they were disregarded, the country must be ruined. The truth of this has been seen this year, for our sins; for this country was on the verge of ruin through the uprising of the Sangleys, who attempted to make themselves masters of the city. They were emboldened to this by seeing themselves so numerous, for they were more than sixteen thousand; and these, added to those in the fleet when it came from China, amounted to twenty thousand. The city was very hard pressed, and in danger of being lost, together with the faith here (which has been established at such a cost to the royal exchequer), and the hopes for the increase of the church and its extension through our new worlds. It could be clearly seen that the Lord alone led the war for the destruction of this enemy – so pernicious for the spread of the gospel, and averse to natural law, for they were a very Sodom; and with their intercourse with the natives, this cancer was spreading. It is certain that if the Sangleys had had a concerted leadership, they would have been masters of the city with little enough opposition; for they could have entered as they usually did on their business, and taken possession of the weapons of the citizens, which were all left in the houses without being guarded, as the people lived without fear or apprehension. The Sangleys are clever at all things, but the Lord blinded them so that this might not come about. If your Majesty should ask who is to blame in this so serious matter, we should say that it is they that have not kept the decrees of your Majesty; for your Majesty commanded years ago that no Sangleys should be left here except those strictly necessary for the serv-

ice of the city," and its cabildo has repeatedly petitioned that only three thousand be allowed. This has not been complied with; but, on the contrary, each year more and more have been allowed to stay, until the said sixteen thousand have gathered here. Finding themselves so numerous, they plotted the said treason. Your Majesty's decree providing reformation for the future was the occasion for so many remaining; for, as licenses in writing were given to those who remained and paid the said license fees, this vicious profit was the cause for this evil. In one of the past years I heard that these licenses had cost sixty thousand pesos, which seemed to me almost incredible. This year its possibility was demonstrated by an incident that happened to me. There came to me several Sangleys recently arrived from China, and besought me to procure licenses for them to remain in the country. I told them that I would not do so; but within a few days they returned and showed me the licenses that had been given them, for which five tostons each had been exacted. When I recounted this occurrence to a

²⁹ A royal decree dated at Barcelona, June 13, 1599, orders the governor and Audiencia of the Filipinas to take suitable measures for restricting the number of Chinese allowed to live in Manila, or in other parts of the islands. The copy of this decree preserved in the Sevilla archives contains also an extract from a letter to Acuña (dated November 29, 1603) in which he is thus directed by the king: "You have been informed by other despatches of the difficulties (which had been pointed out to the said Don Francisco [Tello] and other persons) arising from the number of Sangleys who have remained in the Parian of that city and its outskirts, so that you might be watchful for the security of the country. The said Don Francisco writes at present, that having examined into the matter, and conferred upon it, he finds (as at that time appeared best) that the most expedient way was to continue the measure that has been taken since he entered upon that governorship - namely, that the ships which bring the said

God-fearing person, he told me that there were licenses that cost as high as seven and eight pesos, and others sold at five or six. For the punishment of past acts, and in provision for the future, your Majesty must send a rigorous inspection, in order that those who have put the country and the faith in such danger may be punished. Your Majesty should not trust the various papers that come from here, for it is evident that those who feel themselves in the wrong, will attempt to clear themselves of the blame. Some person should come to make the investigation who is zealous for the honor of God and the service of your Majesty, that he may punish the guilty and provide better things for the future. We, the servants of your Majesty, pray to the Lord of light and to your Majesty to send such a person; but we believe that if he be not an ecclesiastic, all will remain in darkness; for, as your Majesty is so far away, there is not here due fear of punishment. One of the auditors of these islands told me years ago that the judges in Castilla ordinarily performed their duties well because they were seeking honor, and this they could not gain except by such behavior; but that in the Yndias it was the reverse, and that what the judges seek is to enrich themselves. If this

Chinese be sent back [to China] each year full of people. In this way they can be removed and the country cleared of them, with more gentleness and kind treatment, as has already been done with many of them. He thinks that if the captains of the ships are not allowed to carry more than a hundred Sangleys, including sailors and merchants, the desired object will be attained – that is, that there should not be in the country more than three thousand Sangleys, including craftsmen, gardeners, and workers in all trades. What seems best to us, and I accordingly so charge you, is to make use of this means, or of others which may appear to you expedient, so that the country may be secure, and have only the Sangleys necessary for its service."

be their aim, they must needs fail in their obligations. Your Majesty, for the love of God, must have compassion on this land, and send someone to remedy it. Your Majesty has holy prelates here who could assist in this. May our Lord protect your Majesty for the good of His church for many years. Manila, December 15, 1603.

FRAY BERNARDO DE SANTA CATALINA, vicar, and provincial of the Order of St. Dominic, and commissary of the Holy Office.

Sire: The infidel Chinese, whom your Majesty's ministers have allowed in these islands, had come to be so numerous that in their alcaiceria alone, and in the suburbs adjoining Manila, there were about fifteen thousand of them without counting those in other parts of the islands. There were among these a certain number of worthless persons, vicious and criminal, who on that account did not dare to return to China. As the multitude of Chinese was so great, and this low and vicious element was among them, they were emboldened; and, excited by a rumor (which was false, although by no means absurd to them) that the Spaniards intended to kill them, they revolted, on the night of the eve of St. Francis' day of this year, six hundred and three. With clubs for weapons, they killed on that same day many Spaniards, who were marching against them. These were of the most noble and valiant men in the islands, and in the prime of life, under the command of that most Christian and valiant man, Don Luis Perez Dasmariñas. On the third day, with their clubs only, and the few weapons secured from our men whom they had killed, they sallied out and forced us close to this

city. God fought with us, and delivered us, for the good of this Christian community, which is steadily growing in this region. There is no doubt that if God had not blinded them, so that they should not succeed in their mode of warfare, it would not have taken them two hours to kill us all in Manila, and make themselves masters of all this country without the least risk to themselves. This did not come about through any neglect on your Majesty's part to command the Audiencia of these islands to drive out these infidels, nor through lack of advice from here, but it was due to the fault of your Majesty's chief officers here, in not complying with what your Majesty has ordered them; so they have put this country in the greatest danger, and perchance will cause its entire and irremediable ruin in the near future.

Even since this, the enemy from Mindanao, who are naked savages, have come and carried away many hundreds of captive Indians, many of whom straightway became their servants. Nothing is heard in these islands but the accounts of misfortunes. These matters, and the many expenditures that have been made and are still going on in your Majesty's royal exchequer in these islands, as well as many other serious affairs, demand, Sire, that your Majesty send a general inspector here, and choose for this a man who is of great integrity and with great reputation for purity from all taint of greed. If this inspection be not made, there is no redress for this land. All the said Chinese, about fifteen hundred, have been killed, except it be a few who have been kept as slaves in your Majesty's service. The Spanish residents of this city greatly aided in the fighting,

and in their conscientious behavior and in prayer the Indians were very loyal – as also the Christian Chinese, except some seven or eight of them. It is not known how this affair will be considered in China. If the alcaiceria of the infidel Chinese is again permitted, I assure you that a second uprising will surely occur. Let them come, but remain in their ships and sell their goods. Your Majesty should not trust the Spaniards, on account of their greed, in anything which may prove the ruin of this country. I can do no more than advise.

This letter is brought by a father of the Order of St. Augustine, named Fray Diego de Guevara, prior of the convent of San Augustin here. His order is sending him on its own affairs, which are serious and call for much amelioration; accordingly they are sending the said father to your Majesty's presence. I recognize in him a very religious and learned man. I am sure that it would be for the great service of the Lord if your Majesty would listen to him, and give your royal favor and attention to all he may say in regard to reformation, and the general welfare of his order, and the betterment of this land – as to a man who was present in this affair of the Chinese, and knows the misfortunes and captures in these islands due to the naked Indian wretches of Mindanao, and as to a learned and religious man. Manila, December 16, 1603.

FRAY MIGUEL,

bishop, and archbishop elect of the Philipinas.

[*Endorsed*: "Manila, to his Majesty; 1603. The archbishop; December 16, 1603." "September 26, 1606. Have this placed with the other letters-credential of Fray Diego de Guevara."]

LETTERS FROM PEDRO DE ACUNA

Sire:

Having written and sealed the folio which will go with this, on Friday the eve of St. Francis' day of this year, and set thereto the date of the following day, when some one was to depart and take it, on that same Friday night there occurred the insurrection of the Chinese which I shall recount in this.

In the letter of the third of July of this year, which went with the ship which left here for Nueva España, I wrote to your Majesty that three mandarins had come to this city from the kingdom of China, under pretense that they were coming to investigate a lie which a Sangley who had been here had told to their king – saying that in Cavite there was a great quantity of gold; and that with that and the silver which could be obtained from this kingdom every year his vassals might be relieved from tribute. The care which was exercised in this matter, and what occurred to me in regard to it, I have written to your Majesty in the said letter. I told you how I was preparing, being in uncertainty, what appeared to me necessary, so that if anything should happen I should not be caught unprepared; accordingly, as the houses of the Parian were very near to the wall, I had several of them demolished so that this space might be free. I wrote to the *alcaldes-mayor* and magistrates of this district, and they sent me a memorial concerning the natives in the jurisdiction of each one, what weapons they possessed, and in how far they might be trusted. I had them visit the Sangleys, and see what arms and provisions they had, particularly the stone-workers, lime-burners, sawyers, fishermen, and gardeners, as they were people who reside in the

country, and for this reason it will be right to exercise more caution in living with them; and likewise in order to have them make arrows, bows, pikes, baqueruelos, and other articles for the royal warehouses, as it is from these that all of the military supplies are provided. I likewise ordered that they should collect, bring together, and transport as many provisions as possible. I was not careless in regard to the walls, but rather with much diligence repaired what was necessary; and I continued the building of the fort which I wrote your Majesty was being made on the point, as it was so necessary a defense, and the supplies and other articles had to be gathered and guarded there. To this end I had brought a great number of Sangleys for the works, and had contracted with them to construct a ditch in the part where their Parian and alcaycería stand, and along the whole front from the river to the sea; and, as the plan shows, this may be flooded with water at high tide, which enters through the river. As all the Sangleys had knowledge of this, and there were among them restless and vagabond people who had nothing to lose, and who on account of their crimes, evil life, and debts could not go back to China without being punished there for these things with much severity, they took this as a pretext to win over the merchants and quiet people, persuading them that the precautions and measures which I was taking were in order to kill them; and, since the Sangleys were so many and we so few, it would be well to be beforehand with us and kill us, taking our lands. When this came to my knowledge I had them assemble several times, and explained to them the mistake under which they were laboring, and that the Span-

iards were not a people to harm anyone who did not deserve it. I told them to be calm, and confide in me; and that I would do them no harm if they on their part gave me no reason to do so. It appeared that they were quieted, but the gamblers and worthless people – who were very numerous, and had been the prime instigators – incited and persuaded them in such manner that they made them believe that I and the friendly Spanish merchants who were with them and conferred with them were deceiving them. Accordingly many of those in the Parian withdrew from there, and went over to the other side of the river, as if fleeing from the Spaniards because they wished to kill them. Although this was publicly known eight days before their uprising, and I was aware of it all the time, it was supposed that they were fleeing out of fear, and merely to place themselves in safety. They left in the Parian about 2,500 Sangleys who were considered peaceable, and among them five or six hundred *Avays* who are merchants and people of better conduct than the others, for these gave information of what the others were doing. Although the same effort was made to stir them up, they never belonged to that party, or attempted to leave the Parian; for they are a gentle and prosperous people, with a liking for trade. The rest assembled at a place about a legua from Manila, close to the monastery of San Francisco del Monte, whereupon followed what is contained in the relation which will go with this, to which I refer you.

The Audiencia has proceeded against Christian Sangleys who are implicated in this uprising; and in a few cases justice has been executed, particularly on Juan Baptista de Vera. They have confiscated his

goods, which are understood to amount to 15,000 pesos, including that part of them which went this year to Nueva Hespaña. From the investigations which have been made in this connection, and what some of those implicated have declared, it is understood that this uprising was instigated from China; and that it was discussed with the mandarins who were here, or with some one of them. However that may be, at any rate it is considered quite certain that it was due to the restlessness of worthless people, with a hankering for innovations, so that they might enjoy the freedom which they usually have on such occasions, having no other gods than their own vices. Undecided as to what to do with the five hundred or more Sangleys who have been kept alive for the galleys, I have continued the fortifications, with the work of other natives. Likewise several bastions have been erected which were still incomplete, and the wall is being made higher in those parts where it is necessary. They are opening trenches and helping at other very necessary works; and therefore I already have things in good condition, and the fort on the point repaired, to put it in a state of defense; and this work is being continued very diligently.

Likewise it has seemed best to me to send notice to China concerning the event, lest by chance some ships of Sangleys may have fled thither, and by gilding their crime and insubordination may have succeeded in throwing the blame upon the Spaniards; for this, if there were no advices there of the truth, might at least disturb traffic, and make the merchants uncertain as to whether to come this year, which would be an irreparable loss for this whole commonwealth. Thereby the treasury of your Majesty would lose

more than 52,000 pesos, which is the usual value of the duties collected from merchandise that comes from China – to say nothing of what is paid and the increase in value at Acapulco, Mexico, and other parts where the cloth is taken. I have accordingly despatched a ship with a person of ability and prudence, carrying letters, some for the viceroys of Canton and Chincheo and other mandarins, and others from the Sangley Avays who could be found alive, written to their relatives and kinsmen, and the partners of the dead men. All these give an account of the event, and tell how the property of the Avays which they left in the hands of their Spanish friends is deposited at good interest, to be added to it for whomsoever is the owner; and that the debts which were owed by Spaniards to Sangleys who were not implicated in the uprising would also be paid. The Chinese were also informed that the merchants could proceed with their commerce for the future, and that they would find a hearty reception; but that they must go back in their ships the same year. Although this is so pressing a reason for sending this information, I was also led to do so in order that we might learn whether in China they were getting together a fleet directed against this country, as has been suspected since the coming of the mandarins, and as we were led to believe by the letter which they wrote to me before they disembarked, a duplicate copy of which I sent to your Majesty. The whole city is very apprehensive of this, and chiefly the archbishop and the orders, particularly the Dominicans. Although, as I have said, I have left nothing undone in any way which could provide for the defense and protection of this land, yet it would be of much im-

portance to obtain definite knowledge beforehand. This despatch is directed to Malan [*sic*; *sc.* Macan] which is a settlement of Portuguese in the land of China itself. I wrote to the commandant of the place, and to the bishop and the fathers of the Society (which, I am told, takes considerable part in the affairs of state), and to the other orders and to private persons, recounting to them this event. I sent to each of them a copy of the letter which I wrote to the Chinese viceroy, so that, as they possess more extensive and intimate knowledge of the Chinese customs, and of the conditions, and methods of negotiating, they might advise the person who takes the despatch what he should do in order the better to achieve his object and attain success in his undertaking – representing to them the service which they will render to your Majesty, and the obligation to them under which these islands will be. Since, considering the great amount of gunpowder and munitions which have been expended on this occasion, these supplies may fail us, owing to what we fear from China, and other troubles which every day arise, I wrote likewise to those persons that they should buy for me and send as much gunpowder and saltpeter as possible, on your Majesty's account; and that the royal officials there should send it upon the credit of this treasury, so that it could be paid for in this city – for only enough money was sent for anchorage-money for the ships, and the expenses which are necessary there. The Chinese will listen to no one if they are not paid first, and it is a custom very strictly observed among them. If we are cut off from China the many ordinary dangers cannot be overcome; and in a country so surrounded by enemies and so far from reënforce-

ments, it is very necessary that these resources should remain, and not fail us. May God grant that all come out according to our need; for if the trade with China should fail, in no wise could this country be maintained, nor could your Majesty sustain the great expenses here without much difficulty. For the duties which the Chinese pay here, and what the merchants who carry the cloth pay in Nueva Hespaña, amount to much more than what is expended here, as we are always waging war with some nation or other, besides the ordinary expenses; and the Christian religion which is so recently established among these natives would be in great danger.

As soon as I arrived in this city I went out to inspect the Parian of the Chinese, which certainly needed inspection. Considering the many who were there, and those whom I met on all the streets and everywhere I went, it appeared to me that there were great numbers there. Accordingly I desired to learn under what regulation they were living and residing there. Learning that the Audiencia had it in charge, I spoke with the auditors about it, and told them that it was my affair – I being the governor and captain-general, in whose charge was the defense of the country, and not in that of the Audiencia or any auditor who was caring for it. They answered me that your Majesty had entrusted it to them and put it in their charge by a royal decree, and that each year an auditor was chosen for this commission; and that, if I wished it, it would be assigned to me in turn, but that they could not give it up without giving an account thereof to your Majesty, although they saw that I was right. This troubled me much, and therefore I advised your Majesty of it in my letter of the eleventh

of July in the past year, one thousand six hundred and two.

Before this uprising of the Sangleys, immediately upon the departure of the mandarins from here, as some disturbance had resulted from their coming, among other precautions which I took was that of ordering the establishment of several infantry captaincies for the natives, particularly in the provinces of Pampanga, Bulasan, La Laguna de Vay, Tondo, Bombon, and Calilaya. These are more reasonable people, and more prosperous and civilized than the other Indians, because they are nearer the city of Manila, and show more affection for the Spaniards, and likewise because they have more courage and spirit. I wrote to the alcaldes-mayor and the fathers; they sent me a memorandum of those who appeared to them most fit, saying that they had told them that they should immediately get their people ready and well armed, each one with rations for a month. While this was being agreed upon, the uprising took place, and this precaution was of the greatest importance; for they were able to come without delay, and be of so much use that without them I know not what would have happened. They are very proud of being soldiers and of serving your Majesty in military affairs, and therefore they have proved to be excellent troops. I have made much of them, given them presents, and thanked them for what they have done, for which they are grateful, and contented with whatever may come to them. In every way it has been of the greatest importance that these natives have lost their fear for the Sangleys, and have declared against them. There are among them a number of arquebusiers and musketeers.

They are all a people fitted for the work, and if captained by Spaniards they would be of much use. I have been continuing the permission which they before had from the previous governors to carry, in some cases, arquebuses and other arms; and as they have proved to be good and faithful, the object has been attained.

In the said letter of the eleventh of July, 1602, I informed your Majesty that I had not found a single armed galley, or crew therefor; and that I had only fitted up a galeota, and that I was arming it with the few condemned criminals who were here, and with those whom I brought from Mejico and others whom I had joined with them. This vessel remains still in service, for although I had resolved to set it aside in some other business, as it was old and poorly designed and needed a great deal of repair, on this emergency of the Sangleys it appeared to me best to maintain it – and likewise a new one of nineteen benches which I built and had armed, and another small galeota which I had here, which used to be in Çebu. Although the latter was not designed for a galeota, I had it so fitted up, and it will serve for the present. Another galeota, of twenty-two or twenty-three benches, I am having finished to serve as flagship; it will be launched inside of twenty days, and will, I believe, be very good, according to the curves which it has. Accordingly I shall arm four vessels – the new one, this one which is being finished, the old one which was here, and the little galeota (which has no more than fifteen benches). I have much confidence in them in case the Chinaman should come; because great loss could be inflicted on his ships, before he could disembark and get ashore; and in any event

they will be of use, for, although they must be manned with Sangleyes, this will necessitate greater prudence, and all will be well arranged.

It has been a great help to me that I brought with me from Cartagena and Nueva Hespaña several skilful men experienced in regard to galleys, who have been known to me from the time when I sailed with them from Hespaña – especially Captain Francisco Romanico, captain of one of the armed galleys of the fleet on the Yndia route. As I knew him well and was certain that he was a man of long service and great activity, with much experience – for I have seen this on many occasions, as the adelantado of Castilla would tell you if he were alive, as he set much store by him – and fearing that I should find affairs here ill-provided for, I persuaded him to come with me and leave the galleon, as it was all for the service of your Majesty. I begged General Marcos de Aramburu to give him permission for this, as he did. Accordingly he has been setting things to rights, which without his aid could not have been done, for there are no boatswains, or officers, or persons who understand the management or working of galleys; and accordingly they are being built anew, with labor enough on his part and mine, of which I have wished to give your Majesty an account.

I likewise wrote to your Majesty in the said letter of the third of July of this year, that as I had had word in the month of April past that they were taking up arms in Mindanao to go and harry the Pintados (as they are accustomed to do each year), I had the old galeota armed. I ordered General Don Juan Ronquillo to go with a company of infantry to Oton, which is opposite Mindanao; so that with these

troops, and others which are there and in Cebu, he might oppose the enemy, and do them what damage he could. Having met several caracoas on the way, they fled from him, and he could not overtake them. He went on to Oton, where he remained with a few armed caracoas, in readiness for what might occur. For the time being, the enemy did not make any attempt to come to the islands, and as I was informed that they were arming for the monsoons of September (as that time and May are the only seasons of the year in which they make their raids), I notified the said Don Juan Ronquillo to be waiting attentively, and ready to help wherever the enemy might attack. That he might the better do this, I sent him the new galeota of nineteen benches with more infantry troops, and with them went the said captain Romanico. Having received news that the enemy were on the point of setting out from Mindanao, or had already gone, Don Joan left Oton in search of them; and while on the way he was informed of the uprising of the Sangleys, and my order that he should not embark, as the Mindanao enemy were already in the Pintados. He did not stop to look for them or to oppose them, but with all the troops on the expedition he came back here, leaving in Cebu thirty paid men and as many more in Oton, so that with them the citizens and residents of those places might defend themselves, which was decided upon in a council of war. Considering that the troops which Don Juan Ronquillo had in his fleet amounted to two hundred men and more, and that those named in the relation died on the way, it appeared that the former might be of great importance here, and that it was very necessary that they should come to the defense of this

city, even though they should be putting the Pintados in danger; for, if this city were out of danger, it might repair the other losses. It was likewise taken into consideration that even if their recall were not necessary on this occasion of the uprising, it would be so if the Chinese came with their fleet between now and the month of March, at which time they are expected, and during this whole season. When this opportunity is passed, the galeotas cannot come nor can the troops, seeing that the weather is contrary and navigation is very difficult and dangerous. In short, the galeotas arrived here, both of them with the troops, and remained in this fort. I was very glad to see them here, as affairs turned out.

Among the prisoners who were taken by the Mindanao people last year was Captain Martin de Mendia, a worthy man and an old encomendero in this land. The enemy gave him his freedom on account of his good reputation, and trusted him for his ransom. As he had given his word to other Spanish prisoners whom they were also taking into captivity that he would return to negotiate for their freedom – being resolved upon this, and to ransom native chiefs from these islands who had been taken captive at that time, and likewise to learn whether the said Mindanao was arming to come back here – having arrived at the said island of Mindanao and spoken with the commander Umpi, who was the head of the army of the year past, the latter was greatly pleased to see him, and agreed with him in regard to everything which he desired. He gave to Captain Mendia, without ransom, three or four Spaniards whom he held captive, and besought him with much importunity to make him a friend of the Spaniards. He

gave him a letter for me, and likewise sent with it a nephew of his. Another chief, named Silonga,²⁰ who holds the most authority of all in affairs of war, did likewise. He also gave up without ransom two other Spaniards, a few natives, and a priest, and likewise sent one of his nephews. They are both here; and within the few days since they have arrived it is understood that fifty ships from Mindanao have gone against the islands of Leyte and Camar, which are in the province of Cebu, and have wrought havoc there; the commander was Buycan, another chief from Mindanao. Between these three, Umpi, Silonga, and Buycan, and the present king, Rajaniora, the whole country is divided, and the military power; likewise each one has his own following and people, set apart and acknowledged. They have usually dissensions and controversies among themselves, for he who has the most people and wealth seeks to be more esteemed than the others. But against the Spaniards and their other enemies they confederate and unite, and ordinarily Silonga has the most power. His nephew and others claim that he is not to blame for the expedition of Buycan – saying that although he knew of it, and desired that he should not go out upon the raid, and even asked him not to, and to that end gave him a bonus of gold, he could not prevail upon him; nor was this a matter for him to forcibly interfere in, because there is no subjection of the one to the other. It is thus that matters stand, and we needs must tolerate it for the present, since nothing

²⁰ This Silonga was one of the most noted of the Moro chiefs; he was afterward converted by a Jesuit missionary. See account of the raid made by Buhisan (Buycan), and of Acuña's efforts to suppress piracy, in Montero y Vidal's *Hist. Piratería*, i, pp. 148-152.

else can be done, considering the news which we are expecting from China. If this had not intervened, we had resolved to seek them with the galeotas and other oared vessels in their own country in this month of January, and to harry and lay waste their coasts, obstructing their harbors and rivers and burning their vessels. This, by not allowing them to depart from their own coasts, would inflict great damage upon them; but it is necessary, as I said, to employ some other means which is now being examined into. I shall advise your Majesty as to what resolution is taken, by way of Nueva España.

I likewise informed your Majesty of the straits in which your royal treasury was because of the little money which had come from Mejico this year – not only for the treasury, but for the citizens as well; and because of the expenses which have been incurred in this affair with the Sangleys, and others which are presenting themselves every day. The treasury is so poor and needy that I find myself in a thousand difficulties, having no place whence to draw money; and it is necessary that it should not fail when occasion demands, or we shall lose everything. Although all the people are encouraged to do all in their power, and the natives help, yet as they are poor – because their property is in the power of the Mejicans, who will not send it back, saying they have not permission therefor, as I explained to you in the last letter – it is little they can do in this matter. Indeed, in order to send advices to China it was necessary for the citizens to lend here a plate and there a pitcher, and other pieces of silver, for money there is none; and the little silver which remained to me, after the loan which I had made to the fund for aiding the soldiers,

I also gave on this occasion and with all . . . this infantry, to pay two instalments of their pay; and as they were not given rations they endured much suffering, so that I was greatly troubled by the difficulties and weakness that resulted – and at the time when it was most reasonable to keep them content and paid. I beseech your Majesty to be pleased to order that the viceroy of Nueva España be notified to provide immediately a considerable quantity of money, so that this embarrassment may at once cease; as it is a very great difficulty that when anything is brought for the treasury we can make no use of it except to pay past debts, and it is not even sufficient for that. May our Lord preserve your Majesty in that prosperity which is needful for Christendom. Manila, December 18, 1603.

DON PEDRO DE ACUÑA

[*Endorsed*: “Manila; to his Majesty; 1603. Don Pedro de Acuña; December 18. Duplicate.”]

Sire:

In a clause of a letter which I have just written to your Majesty, I give a particular account of the uprising of the Sangleys who rebelled against this city. I set forth the measures which I immediately took upon my arrival here to have the Audiencia refer to me the licenses for the Sangleys who were allowed to remain here, since I was charged with the defense of the country against them and other nations who come here to trade. I also desired this in order to remove and prevent certain difficulties which arose by reason of this, in connection with my proceedings, from those who have that matter in charge, and from your ministers, whom I have informed on various

occasions to be careful in what they did. The whole city blames them, as it appears that, although it was agreed that there should not be more than four thousand Sangleys, yet there were found in the uprising more than eighteen thousand. This is a matter which has much to do with the condition of affairs here, and it requires an investigation, because the people keenly feel their losses, and are complaining. I give an account hereof to your Majesty, so that the matter may be understood. May our Lord protect the Catholic person of your Majesty, according to the needs of Christendom. Manila, December 23, 1603.

DON PEDRO DE ACUÑA

[*In the margin*: "This matter is already provided for as appeared expedient; (*between the lines*: "In a letter of December 18, 603"); and as to the matter of the licenses, the inconveniences mentioned should be well considered, as they result from giving so many licenses."]

[*Endorsed*: "July 21, 1606; examined and provided for within."]

RELACION DE LAS ISLAS FILIPINAS

**By Father Pedro Chirino, S.J. Roma: printed by
Estevan Paulino, in the year MDCIV.**

SOURCE: This is translated from the original printed work, for which purpose have been used the copies belonging to Harvard University and to Edward E. Ayer, of Chicago.

TRANSLATION: This is made by Frederic W. Morrison, of Harvard University, and Emma Helen Blair.



RELACION
DE LAS ISLAS FILIPINAS
I DE LO QUE EN ELLAS
AN TRABAIADO
Los Padres de la Compañia
de IESVS.

DEL P. PEDRO CHIRINO
*de la misma Compañia Procurador
de aquellas Islas.*



EN ROMA,
Por Estevan Paulino, Año de MDCIV.
Con licencia de los Superiores.

R E L A T I O N
OF THE FILIPINAS ISLANDS
AND OF WHAT HAS THERE
BEEN ACCOMPLISHED

By the Fathers of the Society
of JESUS.

BY FATHER PEDRO CHIRINO
of the same Society Procurator
for those Islands.

AT ROMA,
By Estevan Paulino, in the year MDCIV.
By permission of the Superiors.

This relation of the Philippines, composed by Father Pietro Cirino, having been examined by three theologians of our Society, may be printed if it shall seem advisable to the most reverend Monsignor Vicegerent and to the most reverend Father Master of the Sacred Palace.

CLAUDIO [AQUAVIVA], general of the Society.

Let it be printed, at the pleasure of the most reverend Father, master of the Sacred Palace.

B. GYPSIUS, vicegerent.

This account of the affairs of the Philippine Islands, by the reverend Administrator Father Petrus Chirinus, of the Society of Jesus, is published with permission. Nothing in it, in my opinion, is repugnant to the orthodox faith or the decrees of the Church, or morality; on the contrary, I praise the diligence, learning, and piety which I find in no small measure in the author and his book.

FRAY THOMAS MALVENDA, of the Order of Preachers.

Let it be printed.

FRAY JOSEPH MARIA,

master of the Sacred Apostolic Palace.

RELATION OF THE FILIPINAS ISLANDS
AND OF WHAT HAS THERE BEEN ACCOMPLISHED
BY THE FATHERS OF THE SOCIETY
OF JESUS

*Sent to our very reverend Father Claudio Aquaviva,
general of that Society, by Father Pedro Chirino,
procurator for those islands.*

I am about to relate to your Paternity the state and condition of our insignificant Society in the Filipinas, in accordance with the obligation of my office as procurator sent here from those regions in the month of July, six hundred and two, and as one who has spent there fourteen years of the best of his life.²¹ I shall follow the thread of incidents which have befallen

²¹ Pedro Chirino was born in 1557 in Osuna of Andalucía. He graduated in both civil and canon law at Sevilla, and entered the Society of Jesus at the age of twenty-three. Having been appointed to the mission in the Filipinas in place of Father Alonso Sanchez, he arrived there in 1590 with the new governor, Gomez Perez Dasmariñas. He acted as missionary to the Tagalos and the Pintados, and was superior of the Jesuit colleges at Manila and Cebú. He cultivated the friendship of Esteban Rodriguez de Figueroa, whom he advised to found the college of San Ignacio and the seminary of San José in Manila. On July 7, 1602, he left Cavite for Acapulco by the vessel "San Antonio" with appointment by Visitor Diego Garcia as procurator of the mission, in order to take immediate action in the affairs of the mission at both the royal and pontifical courts. He obtained a decree from Father General Claudius Aquaviva, by which the mission in the Filipinas was elevated to a vice-province, independent of the province of Mexico. His relation was written

the Society in that region, and the hardships that it has undergone while preaching our holy faith. I shall also consider how that Society has grown in connection with its services toward the holy Church. That I may do so more conveniently, my narrative will begin at the time when our religion was first established in those islands, treating of the islands themselves, their characteristics, and those of the nations and peoples who inhabit them. I shall touch somewhat upon their history and upon events that have occurred there, noting only what concerns my purpose, and that briefly; for a complete and copious history of those islands has been written,²² with exceeding care, truth, and eloquence, by Doctor Antonio de Morga of the Council of his Catholic Majesty, and his auditor in the royal Chancillería of Manila. Moreover, apart from the consideration of the above book, it is neither my obligation nor my profession to write a history; although there certainly are in that

in 1603, and passed the censorship of vice-provincial Luis de la Puente in Valladolid. On July 17, 1606, he returned to Manila. The village of Taitai was removed to its present site by him. His death occurred September 16, 1635. His biography was written by Father Juan de Bueras in the annals of the province of Filipinas for 1634-35, signed by the author in Manila, May 26, 1636; and by Father Pedro Murillo Velarde in part ii, book ii, chap. i, of *Historia de la Provincia de Philipinas de la Compañía de Jesús*.

Of the many manuscripts left by Father Chirino, I possess the most important. It is the original manuscript, and is entitled *Primera Par|te de la Historia| de la Provincia de| Philipinas de la Compañía de Jesus* |.—PABLO PASTELLS, S.J.

²² Referring to Morga's *Sucesos de las Islas Philipinas* (Mexico, 1609). I have seen the only copy of the new edition of this work published in Madrid, by Justo Zaragoza, in 1880—the only copy, because the balance of the edition was sold as waste-paper, as its sale was anticipated by the edition of Dr. Rizal published in Paris in 1890.—PABLO PASTELLS, S.J.

land magnificent, singular, and wonderful things, both profitable and pleasing to know. I feel confident, however, that the matter contained in this short narrative will not fail to please your Paternity, in proportion as you are informed of the fidelity and truth with which our Lord (may He guard your Paternity) is served in those most distant parts of the world by your sons who are there.

Of the name of the Filipinas, their discovery, and location. Chapter I.

The Filipinas are a part of the many islands which recent cosmographers consider adjacent to Asia – as the Canarias and the Terceras [*i.e.*, Azores] are to Africa; and Inglaterra [England], Escocia [Scotland], Hibernia, Irlanda, Olanda [Holland], Gelandia [Iceland], and the Orcadas [Orkney] Islands, to Europe. Some of the islands of this great archipelago cross the equinoctial line, or the torrid zone, and following the coast-line of Great China and India, terminate on the north side with the islands of Japon, which extend beyond the fortieth degree; in the south the archipelago has as yet no known termination. The Filipinas are between the Malucas and the islands of Japon; and it is a thing to be wondered at that the exertions and diligence of the Portuguese, who discovered, explored, and settled Maluco, China, and Japon, the outermost and peripheral islands, should not have discovered the middle part, or center, namely, the Filipinas. It is true, they were informed concerning the island of Burney, which is the most southern of the archipelago; they did not, however, stop there, being bound for the islands of Maluco, in eager quest of spices and drugs, which are to be found

there in such abundance. It was this very desire to secure drugs that caused the Spaniards, or Castilians, to discover and settle the Filipinas, as is well known. For when Hernando Magallanes was in quest of the aforesaid drugs for the crown of Castilla, in the days of the emperor Charles Fifth, he came upon the island of Sebu, where, at the expense of his life,²³ he proved that the entire voyage from Nueva España could be made, avoiding the tedious route through the Strait and the necessity of sailing thither from Spain.²⁴ Villalobos did the same soon after, but our Lord destroyed his fleet, leaving the captain and his crew shipwrecked on the island of Maluco, where necessity compelled them to fraternize and remain with the Portuguese.²⁵ Father Cosme de Torres, our illustrious apostle of Japon, took part in this expedition, and was found in Maluco by the Blessed Father Francisco, who received him as his companion, and as a member of our Society.²⁶ The Castilians persisted in making a third attempt to send a fleet from Nueva España for the same purpose. With the warn-

²³ His death occurred in Mactan, on the morning of April 28, 1521. — PABLO PASTELLS, S.J.

²⁴ Chirino writes here somewhat inaccurately. Magalhães and Loaisa sailed directly from Spain, and went through the Strait of Magellan; Saavedra was the first who went to the Philippines from Nueva España (1527), and was followed in this route by Villalobos in 1542. See accounts of these voyages in VOLS. I and II of this series.

²⁵ Carlos V disapproved of Villalobos entering the Malucos, and on this account was on the point of depriving the viceroy of Nueva España, Don Antonio de Mendoza, of his office, as the latter had given instructions as to the manner of performing the expedition. — PABLO PASTELLS, S.J.

²⁶ Cosmo de Torres was born in 1510 at Valencia; he departed for India in 1538, and was admitted to the Jesuit order by St. Francis Xavier, on March 20, 1548. He was afterward sent to Japan, where he began the work of christianizing that people.

ing and experience of the two former expeditions, they well knew the locality of Sebu, and cast their anchors there. God, who destined them not for Maluco but for the Filipinas, caused them to abandon the thought of Maluco and to settle the latter islands, thus bringing them to the bosom of the Church and to the crown of Castilla; they gave these the name of Filipinas, out of respect to, and to perpetuate the memory of, King Filipo Second.²⁷ It was during his reign that this third expedition took place, as well as the discovery and conversion of the islands – which was accomplished by only five hundred Spaniards with six Augustinian religious, holy men and learned. Among them was the reverend Father Martin de Herrada,²⁸ a great cosmographer and mathematician, but still more distinguished as a holy and truly apostolic man. He was the first who made converts to Christianity in the Filipinas, preaching to them of Jesus Christ in their own tongue – of which he made the first vocabulary, which I have seen and have also studied.

The discovery of an image of the child Jesus, which gave its name to the city of Sebu; the holy patrons of the same and of Manila. Chapter II.

The city of the natives in the port of Sebu was at

He died on October 10, 1570, after a long and arduous missionary career. (Sommervogel's *Bibliothèque*, viii, p. 112.)

St. Francis Xavier's ministry in the Indias and Japan began in 1542, and lasted ten years; he died on December 2, 1552.

²⁷ The name "Philipinas" was given to the islands by Villalobos, and confirmed by Felipe II in a decree dated at Valladolid, and directed to the viceroy of Nueva España, Don Luis de Velasco, September 24, 1559. – PABLO PASTELLS, S.J.

²⁸ The others were Andres de Urdaneta, Andres de Aguirre, Diego de Herrera, Pedro de Gamboa. The sixth died at the

that time so large and populous that it extended a space of more than a legua along the beach, on the spot where now stands the city and fortress of the Spaniards. As the Indians had already in the past experienced the valor of the latter, and were fearful at thought of their treachery in killing Magallanes years before, they greatly feared our men on this occasion. Upon sighting our vessels, they began to offer all possible resistance with their bows and arrows, lances and shields—such being their arms—to prevent our men from landing. When our people saw the islanders disposed to hostility, they discharged some cannon into the air, frightening them to such an extent that they abandoned their houses and fled inland. Thereupon our men leaped ashore unimpeded and began to seek food in the houses (as is the custom among those who have just disembarked after a long voyage). At this juncture it happened that a Biscayan who was rummaging among the movables and ornaments of one of the houses, found in a basket, among other things, a carved image of the holy child Jesus, presumably left as a trophy of the devotion of some good soldier of the first expedition of Magallanes.³⁹ The Indians, partly on account of the novelty of the image, which they understood to be the God of the Christians, and partly on account of the respect and reverence with which our Lord himself inspired them, held the object in great veneration, as was after-

port of Navidad. Father Rada also died at sea, while returning to Manila from an expedition to Borneo. Felipe II ordered his manuscripts to be collected and preserved in the archives. — PABLO PASTELLS, S.J.

³⁹ See description of this incident, and illustration presenting a view of the image (which is still in existence), in VOL. II of this series, pp. 120, 217.

wards learned, and had recourse to it in all their necessities – making sacrifices to it after their custom, and anointing it with their oils, as they were accustomed to anoint their idols. And our Lord exercising, moreover, His wonted mercy toward those who honored Him without knowing Him, did not act otherwise toward those who, in their ignorance of Him, were at the same time offending Him; He succored them most liberally in their needs, as a token and pledge of the greater favors which He had marked out for them when they should come to a knowledge of Him, and preserved for these times which they are now enjoying. For which reason they had recourse frequently to this image in their necessities, calling it “the Divata of the Castilians;” for among them “Divata” is God, whom the inhabitants of Manila call Bathala or Anito,⁴⁰ as we shall see later. The good Biscayan upon seeing the holy Child, was filled with a strange joy and happiness, and desiring to share it with the rest of the expedition, began to cry aloud in his own absurd language, “Bear witness to God, thou hast found His Son.” The religious at once took possession of the image, regarding it as a good omen; and out of respect and devotion to it named the city that they founded Santissimo Nombre de Jesus, and placed the image in a church of their order erected in the city. There it remains in highest veneration, and has wrought many miracles, particularly in childbirths, whence it is both facetiously and piously called El Partero [“man-midwife”]. Each year it is borne in solemn procession from the church of St. Augustine to the spot in which it was found,

⁴⁰ See Loraca's account of the beliefs of the Moros, VOL. V, pp. 171-175.

where a chapel has since been erected. The procession takes place upon the same day when the discovery was made – namely, on the twenty-ninth of April, the feast of the glorious martyr St. Vital, who is patron of the city, and as such that day is kept as a solemn feast in his honor. One of the regidores, appointed each year for this purpose, brings out the banner of the city; he is on that day clad in livery, and invites the public to the festivals.⁴⁰ There are bull-fights and other public festivities and rejoicings, with many novel fireworks, such as wheels and sky-rockets, which the Sangleys make the night before; on this occasion they construct things well worth seeing, and which appear well-nigh supernatural. The city of Manila holds similar festivities on the feast-day of the glorious apostle St. Andrew, who was chosen as its patron because, on his feast-day, the city was delivered from the blockade of the pirate Limahon. At that time the city had no fortress or walls, or any stone buildings; and in all the islands there were no more than five hundred Spaniards, as I learned from one of them. These few men alone compelled the enemy, who numbered more than a thousand fighting men, to withdraw from the city; and they even pursued and harried the pirates in such wise, by blocking the mouth of the river Pangasinan (where they had retired with their ships), that to escape the fury of

⁴⁰ An account of the festivities held in Manila in 1623 on the occasion of the accession of Philip IV to the Spanish crown, includes the mention of bull-fights. The festivities were attended by the entire town, civil and political. This account, which contains valuable social observations, is an extract from a manuscript owned by the Compañía general Tabacos de Filipinas, Barcelona, and was published privately (1903) in an edition of 25 copies by Señor Don José Sánchez Garrigós. It will be presented in this series, if space will permit.

our men they were obliged to construct some light craft within their fort. They are said to have calked these, for want of pitch, with their own blood; and to have carried them on their shoulders for several leguas over land, until they succeeded in launching them into the sea, and fled under full sail. They left their ships in the river and dismantled the forts and camps, where our men found some spoils, of which I saw a part. But satisfaction over the booty was outweighed by chagrin at losing the enemy whom they had practically in their hands. The enemy, however, had received such a lesson that they never returned.

Some years afterwards they planned to elect another patron against hurricanes, which are called in those parts *vagios*, and by the Portuguese *tufones*.⁴¹ They are furious winds which, springing up ordinarily in the north, veer toward the west and south, and move around the compass in the space of twenty hours or more.

One of these days of tempest is a very Judgment day; especially if it overtake one in the night-time, and in a wooden house. It rends some houses, and turns others over on one side; still others (and most frequently) it destroys and hurls to the ground. With the assistance of the bishop of Yucatan,⁴² who was at that time dean of the church, the cathedral of Manila had been temporarily erected, with pillars of the very

⁴¹ These winds are known as *baguíos* or *tifones* (English "typhoons"). See full account of them, with diagrams, tables, etc. (prepared largely from data and reports furnished by the Jesuit fathers in the Manila observatory), in U. S. Philippine Commission's *Report*, 1901, iv, pp. 290-344.

⁴² Diego Vazquez de Mercado, later archbishop of Manila. — PABLO PASTELLS, S.J.

strongest trees, so large that two men could not reach around them; and all the timber above and below was on the same scale; yet in half an hour one of these typhoons destroyed the newly-built cathedral, and left only the tabernacle of the most Holy Sacrament between four pillars. In this accident some people were killed; for, fleeing from their houses, which were falling to pieces over their heads, they betook themselves for greater safety to the church. The vessels in the bay were hurled ashore the distance of a stone's throw, and those who were caught in the tempest were carried away like straw. To remedy so great an evil, lots were cast with great solemnity at a concourse of all classes; from these came forth the [name of the] most glorious virgin St. Potenciana – not without much mystery; for, on the day when the event took place (the 19th of May), one of the earliest settlers, hearing her name called, arose and said: "Hers is the day when we first entered Manila, by which it is meant that our Lord chose to inform us of the obligation that we owe to this glorious Saint." What followed confirmed his statement; for from that time forward there has been a notable improvement in this respect, the storms and the fury of the winds recognizing the favor and protection of this blessed virgin.

How the Spaniards spread over all the Filipinas to Manila. Chapter III.

The people of Sebu did not remain a long time in retirement. Assured of the good friendship of the Spaniards for them, and that through it they should have many commodities which they needed, together

with defense and help against their enemies, and peace in the islands (of which they were so desirous, being weary of the continual and grievous wars and evils with which they had harassed one another), they all repaired to the Spaniards to be baptized, and to offer them their services. They entered, moreover, into such fraternal and confidential relations with the Spaniards that they soon came to long for the honor which might be theirs from association with them, and from serving them with their industry and lands – not only providing them with what was needful for their sustenance, but acting as guides in the exploration and conquest of the other islands as far as Manila, which is the principal and foremost island among them all.

For this reason the Sebuans are privileged and exempt from taxation, as a reward for their friendly services and loyalty. In the beginning the pacification of the Islands was strongly resisted, and some deaths among our men ensued; yet, in spite of this, those few reduced and subjugated everything and began to establish our holy faith, gently bringing the villages, with their chiefs, into obedience to the Church and to the crown of Castilla. The method which they pursued was consistent with the practice of those nations in forming a friendship – a method not altogether their own, as it was a custom among the most ancient heathen peoples, mention of which we find in serious authors. Those who made peace in the name of the rest, and established the pacts of perpetual friendship, pricked and wounded their own arms; the Indian sucking the blood of the Spaniard, and the Spaniard that of the Indian. In this wise they became as if of the same blood, and were

closer than brothers. These are called *sandugo*, which means "consanguineous," or "of the same blood."

Of the entry of the fathers of the Society into the Filipinas. Chapter IV.

These islands offer good inducements to the Spaniards, as well as for ecclesiastics and religious, to make settlements: to the former, because the islands are numerous and thickly inhabited by a people who, though not rich, were accustomed to wear cotton and silk garments, and gold pieces (not merely of thin plate) and brooches to fasten them; and rich necklaces, pendants, ear-rings, finger-rings, ankle-rings, on the neck, ears, hands, and feet – the men, as well as the women. They even used to, and do yet, insert gold between their teeth as an ornament. Although among the other ornaments which they used were to be found articles of considerable interest and curiosity which could be described, there is one practice which seems more worthy of attention than the others – namely, that of wearing rings upon the instep of the foot. This seems to be precisely the same custom that the ancients wrote about when they mentioned nations who used gold for fetters and chains, especially among the nobles. Their ornamenting the teeth is also worth notice, although it is a barbarous practice to deprive them of their natural whiteness, which God conferred upon the teeth for the beauty of man. On the other hand, they showed themselves to be both skilful and prudent in trying to maintain them as necessary instruments for the preservation of health and life. They are thus very diligent in rinsing out their mouths and cleansing their teeth after eating,

and upon arising in the morning. For the same purpose they treat and adorn their teeth in the following way: From early childhood they file and sharpen them,⁴⁸ either leaving them uniform or fashioning them all to a point, like a saw – although this latter is not practiced by the more elegant. They all cover their teeth with a varnish, either lustrous black or bright red – with the result that the teeth remain as black as jet, or red as vermilion or ruby. From the edge to the middle of the tooth they neatly bore a hole, which they afterward fill with gold, so that this drop or point of gold remains as a shining spot in the middle of the black tooth. This seems to them most beautiful, and to us does not appear ugly.

These people were and still are very sagacious, and keen in traffic and bargaining, and in buying and selling; and they applied themselves to all gainful pursuits – and not least to agriculture and to the breeding of animals, regularly carried on for the profits thus made. They have not only great harvests of rice (which is their ordinary bread), but also crops of cotton, with which they clothe themselves, and from which they manufacture quantities of cloths, which were, and are yet, much esteemed in Nueva España. For this reason, the Spaniards regarded them as a people from whom large profits

⁴⁸ Regarding this sharpening of the teeth, see Virchow's "Peopling of the Philippines" (Mason's translation), in Smithsonian Institution's *Annual Report*, 1899, pp. 523, 524. Jagor says – *Travels in the Philippines* (London, 1875), p. 256: "The further circumstance that the inhabitants of the Ladrones and the Bisayans possess the art of coloring their teeth black, seems to point to early intercourse between the Bisayans and the Polynesians." The Jesuit Delgado mentions – *Hist. de Filipinas* (Manila, 1892), p. 328 – the custom of adorning the teeth with gold. Cf. Sawyer's *Inhabitants of Philippines*, p. 342.

might be gained, and they were not mistaken, for, from the gains on cotton fabrics alone (which there they call *lompotes*), one encomendero left an estate of more than one hundred and fifty thousand pesos in a few years. The soil is not only good and favorable, with a sunny climate, but fertile and rich. Besides possessing many gold mines and placers – of which they make but small account, because of the China silks which bring them more profit – they raise fowls in great abundance. Besides the domestic fowls, which are most numerous and very cheap, the fields are full of wild ones. There is an infinite number of domestic swine, not to mention numberless mountain-bred hogs, which are very fat, and as good for lard as the domestic breed. There are also many goats which breed rapidly, bearing two kids at a time and twice yearly; there are entire islands abounding with them. As to the buffaloes, there called carabaos, there are beside the tame and domestic breed, many mountain buffaloes, which are used [as food] the same as those in Europe – although somewhat less ugly in appearance, and with singularly large horns, three times the size of those of our breed. They have remarkable skill in striking with these horns; lowering the beard to the breast, with the point of the horn they lift up the most minute object. In spite of these formidable qualities both Indians and Spaniards hunt and slay them. Their flesh, whether fresh or dried, is as good as the most excellent beef. Deer are so abundant that the Japanese import cargoes of their hides from these islands. The sea abounds in all kinds of delicate fish; trees, fruits, vegetables, and garden-stuff are abundant – especially bananas, of which there are as many different kinds as in Europe there are

varieties of apples and other fruits. There are six or eight species of orange, the most famous of which is an orange as big as a large-sized melon or gourd. Some of these are white inside, like limes; others are as red as our oranges are yellow; and all kinds are as well-flavored as bunches of delicate grapes. In general, the fruits of those regions, although different from ours in species and form, have much the same flavor as the European fruits. The palms, of which there are many and varied species, are the vineyards and olive-orchards of that country. For beside the many other uses and advantages of this tree, it yields wine, vinegar, and oil in sufficient quantities not only to supply that region abundantly, but likewise to ship and send away to other neighboring regions – especially furnishing wine to Japon, Maluco, and Nueva España. The rigging of vessels is also manufactured from this tree. In fact, there is such an abundance of the materials necessary for the construction of ships that a vessel which is built in Nueva España or Peru in several years' time for fifty or sixty thousand pesos, is constructed in the Filipinas in less than one year, and at a cost of less than eight thousand pesos. The cane is in itself another miracle, especially the kind called *cauayan*, the size and thickness of which are incredible. I shall not say what I have seen of that species during fourteen years; but one of our Society lately told me in Lisboa, while discussing this subject, that in the river of London he had seen a vessel which had one of these canes for a pump. In addition to Pliny," the most ancient writer who makes

"In the margin (p. 9), are various references to authors. "Book 7, chap. 2 and 56; and book 16, chap. 36," probably refers

much mention of these canes, there are many moderns who testify to their size – especially one who, from information received by those of his nation who have coursed these seas (to our detriment and their own danger), has written an account of these canes and of other plants and fruits of that New World. Although this cane is so large, it is so easily worked that it is employed in whatever is needed for any of the uses of life; from vessels and houses (which can be made from it in all their parts), its use extends to the pot and wood for cooking. It seems to me that its uses could go no farther; and in these it corresponds, too, with what Pliny⁴⁸ writes of the reed and the papyrus – particularly as within the hollow of the cane there are membranes somewhat similar to beaten and glazed paper, on which I have at times written. In some of the canes there is also found a juice or liquor which is drunk as a luxury. There is nothing especially remarkable in the fact that so much abundance should be deposited in the hollow of these canes; for, just as in other regions trees need water, in the Filipinas some are found which furnish it – acting as a perpetual fountain for a whole community,

to the *Naturalis historia* of the elder Pliny. “Ludovic. Vartom. Nauigat. lib. 5. cap. 12,” refers to book 5, chap. 12 of the *Itinerario* of Lodovico Barthema (Roma, 1510). Another reference is to Thomas Malvenda’s *De Antichristo*, book 3, chap. 12.

The word for “cane” here used is the Tagal name for several species of the bamboo (*Bambus*), the largest and most useful being *B. arundo*. Both this and the bejuco (*Calamus*) were commonly mentioned under the general term *cañas* (“canes,” or “reeds”); and not only the bejuco, but one species of bamboo (*B. mitis*) yields clear water as a beverage for man’s use. See Blanco’s *Flora*, pp. 187-189.

⁴⁸ A marginal note (p. 9) opposite this line cites “book 13, chap. 11,” presumably of the same work that is mentioned in the preceding note.

even though it may be on the apparently dry uplands. In all that locality there are no other springs than these trees. The method which they employ for obtaining the liquid from the tree is to make some cuts or incisions in the trunk and the thicker branches; and out of these is distilled and flows a clear, sweet water, in ample quantities. But, to return to the subject of the canes, it should be known that in our church of Manila were erected two ladders, each of which had only two canes somewhat more than eight brazas in length: the steps consisted of strips and slips cut from the said cane. They were used in decorating the church and each one would sustain at its top two or three men; they were erected without any prop being needed to sustain them. Each cane was at the lowest part about three palmos in circumference, which crosswise or in diameter would be about one palmo.⁴⁶ These ladders are well adapted to such needs, for being, as they are, strong and yet hollow, they are not very heavy, or hard to move. From these canes they make in China the whips which with three or four blows kill a man.

To this abundance and fertility was added the proximity of China, India, Japon, Malaca, and Maluco. From China they not only began to ship their riches in silks and glazed earthenware, as soon as they learned of our wealth of four and eight real pieces; but they also stocked the islands with cattle (which have since multiplied there exceedingly) and with horses and mares, and great stock-farms have been established. The Chinese have also supplied provisions, metals, fruits, preserves and various

⁴⁶ The palmo was a measure of length used in Spain and Italy, varying from eight and one-third to ten and one-third inches.

luxuries, and even ink and paper; and (what is of much more value) there have come tradesmen of every calling – all clever, skilful, and cheap, from physicians and barbers to carriers and porters. The Chinese are the tailors, the shoemakers, the blacksmiths, the silversmiths, sculptors, locksmiths, painters, masons and weavers; in short, they represent all the trades of the community. Their labor is so cheap that a pair of shoes costs no more than two reals, and so many are made that they have been shipped even to Nueva España. From India, Malaca, and Maluco come to Manila male and female slaves, white and black, children and adults; the men are industrious and obliging, and many are good musicians; the women excellent seamstresses, cooks, and preparers of conserves, and are neat and clean in service. The islands also import drugs, spices, and precious stones; marble, pearls, seed-pearls, carpets, and other riches. From Japon are imported much wheat, and flour, also silver, metals, saltpeter, weapons, and many curiosities. All of these things make life in that region pleasant and an object of desire to men; and indeed it seems a copy of that Tyre so extolled by Ezekiel.

In the second place, as concerns the religious, there was from the very beginning the very tractable disposition displayed by so many natives of the islands in embracing the faith. But as the many and excellent ministers whom the holy Order of St. Augustin promptly sent thither were not sufficient for the task of converting the natives, nor were those who were sent by the Order of the seraphic father St. Francis,⁴⁷

⁴⁷ The first Franciscan religious arrived at Manila June 24, 1577. These were fathers Fray Pedro Alfaro, Fray Pedro de

which in the year 1580 already had in the islands some establishments, and had made many conversions – the fathers of the Society of Jesus were also needed. They were introduced, in that year, by the first bishop of these islands, Don Fray Domingo de Salazar,⁴⁸ a priest of the Order of St. Dominic – who afterward died in the city of Toledo, as archbishop of Manila. This great prelate had left his province of Mexico to consult with the Catholic king, Don Felipe Second, concerning matters of grave importance; and, being by his Majesty appointed bishop of the Filipinas, he soon sought from the king permission to take with him to the islands members of the Society – as appears from the same royal provision made for them in Nueva España. Accordingly he took with him from that country the first members of the Society to enter those islands – namely, Father Antonio Sedeño and Father Alonso Sanchez. These, our fathers, entered the city of Manila without cloaks, as I have heard

Jerez, Fray Pablo de Jesus, Fray Juan de Plasencia, Fray Juan Bautista Pesaro, Fray Alonso de Medina, Fray Sebastian de Baeza, Fray Francisco Mariano, Fray Diego de Oropesa, Fray Agustin de Tordesillas, Fray Antonio Barriales, and Fray Francisco Menor, and two choristers and lay brothers. – PABLO PASTELLS, S.J.

⁴⁸ Domingo de Salazar was born in Labastida (in Alavese Rioja) in 1512. He joined the Order of St. Dominic in 1546 at Salamanca; and at forty years of age he went to Mexico. In 1579 he was appointed first bishop of the Filipinas, and took possession of his seat in 1581. In virtue of the bull *Fulti præsidio*, promulgated by Gregory XIII, he erected the principal church of Manila into a cathedral church, December 21 of the same year. Immediately thereafter he held the first council, being assisted by both the secular and regular clergy. In 1591 he returned to Acapulco and Mexico, whence he went to España in 1593. He died in Madrid, December 4, 1594, and was buried in the church of Santo Tomás of his order. – PABLO PASTELLS, S.J.

Father Antonio Sedeño himself relate, in commending their poverty; for those which they brought with them from Mexico had worn out and rotted in the voyage. They went to rest at [the convent of] San Francisco, where those blessed fathers received them with much charity until they found an abode – which they chose in a suburb of Manila, called Laguio, very wretched and closely packed, and so poorly furnished that the very chest in which they kept their books was the table upon which they ate. Their only food for many days was rice boiled in water without salt, oil, meat, fish, or even an egg, or any other thing; sometimes as a dainty, they secured some salted sardines.

But the good bishop who had brought them did not leave them long in such straits; for not only did he offer us his library, and show us other acts of kindness and charity as a true father, but he tried to improve the site of our habitation, as soon as he saw that those first fathers had no wish to change it for another. Thus, with two ground-plots given them by Andres Cauchela, accountant for the Catholic king in those regions (who owned some lands in Laguio); with property of the Catholic king, obtained at the instance of the aforesaid bishop and at the order of the governor, Don Gonzalo Ronquillo;⁴⁰ and with the addi-

⁴⁰ Don Gonzalo Ronquillo was born at Arévalo, of an illustrious family. His father was a military officer, his grandfather a civil magistrate, and his brother a distinguished warrior. From 1572 to 1575, Gonzalo Ronquillo served in the Audiencia of Mexico as chief constable; then returning to Spain, he made an offer to the king to conduct six hundred colonists to the Filipinas Islands. This was accepted, and he was appointed governor of the islands, for which he departed from Spain early in 1579. On the way he lost so many of his colonists, by desertion or death, that only three hundred and forty remained when he left Panama, February 24, 1580; they reached Manila on June 1 following. In 1581 he founded the town of Arévalo on the island of Panay.

tion of private offerings of charity – a fine wooden house was constructed (which I myself saw), wherein was fitted up their church, in which our fathers exercised their ministry, with a large attendance, and to the great advantage of the Spaniards.

Three years later their number was increased. The Catholic king sent his royal Audiencia to the islands in the year 1583; and as its president, the governor of the islands and the representative of his Majesty, Doctor Santiago de Vera, who was a member of his council, and judge in the royal Chancillería of Mexico.⁶⁰ He, at the time of his departure from Mexico, requested of the Father Doctor Juan de la Plaza, who was then provincial in Nueva España, permission to take with him to the islands some of the fathers. Not only did he himself urge this, but also other personages, even the king's ministers, who all insisted that he should in no case go without them. Under this influence the father provincial was constrained to draw from the few members then in his province four individuals: these were Father Ramon de Prado, a Catalan; Father Francisco Almerique, an Italian; Padre Hernan Suarez, a Castilian; and, as coadjutor, the brother Gaspar Gomez – all of whom, as we shall later see, were of great benefit to those regions. So great was the satisfaction of this most Christian man, upon receiving the message of our provincial (who

Ronquillo's death occurred at Manila, on February 14, 1583 – caused, according to a letter written by his cousin Don Diego to the king, by his grief at the proceedings of Doctor Sande from Mexico in reprisal for the severe residencia which, by order of the king, Ronquillo had taken of Sande's government.—PABLO PASTELLS, S.J.

⁶⁰ These auditors received two thousand pesos of nugget gold (*oro de minas*) annually; and the president, four thousand pesos.—PABLO PASTELLS, S.J.

had given him two of Ours, and those other four on his own responsibility), that he immediately fell on his knees before them, and gave thanks to our Lord that he had obtained the ministers whom His Divine Majesty employs for the conversion of peoples, as he has so said. They reached the Filipinas in May or June of the year 1584, and afforded great companionship, comfort, and aid to those who were in the islands. Father Hernan Suarez was especially useful, for God had endowed him with special grace in winning hearts and bringing them to His service – and this, in familiar conversation and ordinary discourse, as well as in the pulpit and the confessional. In this way the whole community was dependent on him; he settled all matters that might give rise to discord, and no one took any step without his opinion and counsel. He ministered to his flock jointly and severally in public and in private, with much charity on his part and satisfaction on theirs. But this very thing was the cause, in a short time, of his death. Exhausted by so much toil, but especially by the fierce heat of the sun – to which he was exposed at every hour, in journeying on foot from Laguio to Manila and back again – and wearied and often perspiring from the sermons which he so frequently preached, he died a holy death within two or three years, to the universal sorrow of his entire congregation which celebrated his obsequies as those of a true father.

For this reason and at the order of Father Antonio de Mendoça, provincial of Nueva España, who did not wish that our members should dwell so far from Manila, they were obliged to change their abode and come within the city. Many devout persons and friends of our Society helped them greatly

to this end with offerings, some giving them pieces of land, on which was a wooden house of moderate size; others offerings of money, with which they bought more land. Here we dwelt until Captain Juan Pacheco Maldonado, a regidor of Manila, and Doña Faustina de Palacios y Villa Gomez, his wife, our excellent benefactress, erected for us a beautiful stone edifice. This work was begun, with great piety and devotion, on the same day when this Christian captain received the news that the English had robbed a vessel in which he had a great quantity of goods. The mariscal Gabriel de Ribera, another notable benefactor of ours, erected temporarily a very neat wooden church, which was used until the stone church, which we now have, was finished. The greater part of this was done at the expense of this captain, Juan Pacheco. The rest was accomplished with the aid of large gifts contributed by the devout people. In short, this post at Manila began to assume permanent form; our very reverend Father-general Claudio Aquaviva, accepted it as a college, and appointed, as its first rector, in the year one thousand five hundred and eighty-nine, Father Antonio Sedeño.

Of the employments of the fathers of the Society in the Filipinas. Chapter V.

In the residence at Manila (which was the only one that our Society then had in the Filipinas), of the five priests who had gone thither only three remained. For, as we have said, Father Hernan Suarez urged himself on to work until he died of sheer exhaustion – but certainly with most abundant harvest, and having brought great consolation to that

commonwealth, where his loss was deeply felt, and his memory was held for many years in great tenderness and affection by all. Father Alonso Sanchez, although inclined by nature to retirement and solitude, could not hide his light, since he was a man of great courage and ability. His retirement was perpetually beset by bishop, governor, royal ministers, prelates of the church, and regidors of the commonwealth. Both within and without Manila, he was forever busied in important affairs – whether concerning the welfare of souls, the peace of men's consciences, the tranquillity and prosperity of the commonwealth, or the service of his Majesty the Catholic king, our sovereign. On this account not only did they send him on several journeys to China and Malaca, but finally despatched him to Europe upon like undertakings, where he was well known at the court of España and afterwards at that of Roma. The three who were left behind did not remain idle. Father Antonio Sedeño, in addition to his ordinary occupation of preaching – in which he was so effective that he could move stones by his eloquence – in his capacity as superior attended to the temporal affairs of the residence and to the construction of buildings. He was all the more busy in this latter occupation, from the scarcity, at that time, of architects and builders in Manila; for there were none at all. First he taught this art to the Indians, and then to the Chinese; and he inspired the bishop to build the first stone house ever erected in Manila. Encouraged by this example, they continued to build others, until finally the city reached its present greatness. At this time it is one of the most beautiful and delightful cities in the Indias. Formerly the houses,

though large and roomy, were all constructed of wood or cane. In short the good father was the architect of the city, and the people caused him no little labor in inspecting, planning, and arranging its edifices; he aided them out of pure charity and zeal for the advancement of the holy Church, which he hoped would be very great in those regions. The first fort constructed in Manila for the defense of the city was erected under his direction, and with his plans, supervision, and aid, which cost him no little effort. This is the fortress that they call Guia, because it is situated at the principal gate of the city which leads out to the chapel of Nuestra Señora de Guia that stands in front of our house. I once accompanied him when he went to furnish the plans for a stairway in one of the principal houses; and he showed so much patience and indulgence toward the errors which the Indians had committed in his absence that he did not lose his temper in either word or look, but merely had what was wrong taken apart and done over again.

Father Raimundo de Prado also preached with much enthusiasm and devotion; but his principal employment was in the confessional, where he exercised his calling to such advantage that there was scarcely a man or woman who confessed to another priest. He also, at the instance of the bishop, read in our house for the benefit of the clergy, the *Materia de sacramentis*, which lasted several months; but after that was finished he read no longer, as he could not attend to so many things.

Father Francisco Almerique began the study of the Chinese language, in his zeal to aid in the conversion of the many Chinese who came to Manila

and whom we in the Filipinas call Sangleys. He effected several conversions, in particular, that of a young man of much talent who had studied their learning, and made more than ordinary progress, and was about to be graduated in his own country. This young man, abandoning his studies and ambitions for our holy faith, was solemnly baptized in our church at Manila by the hand of the bishop, and took the name of Paul, in devotion to that most glorious apostle, the teacher of the Gentiles. I met him afterward and came to know him well, and saw in him a Christian of the primitive church. Since it enters most opportunely into this matter, let me relate how, having once seen an honorable Spaniard commit some act by no means Christianlike, he said to me: "Father, are not these Christians? and, if so, how can they do this?" I was obliged to satisfy him by making a distinction between the living and the dead faith, and the appreciation and estimation of the things of God in contrast to the inclination and affection for earthly things, which is so common among our Christians of long standing – to the great scandal of the new converts, as this incident shows.

The Japanese who came to Manila also repaired to our church; and I once saw them perform a very decorous and devout dance in a feast of the most holy sacrament. Their mode of dress is decorous, and they sing, to a slow and solemn music, marking the pauses by strokes with a small fan grasped in the palm of the left hand; they move in time with this, only stamping their feet, inclining their bodies somewhat. The effect is most striking, and invites devotion, especially in those who understand what they sing, which are all things pertaining to the divine.

In the year one thousand five hundred and eighty-seven, one of them named Gabriel, a native of Miaco, reared in the Society, brought with him to Manila as converts four other companions – who, as soon as they arrived, were baptized with great solemnity in our church and confirmed by the bishop, who treated us with the same love and confidence as if he were of our religious order. On the feast of St. Michael, the twenty-ninth of September of this same year, there was a jubilee in our church, and the bishop desired to celebrate the mass; on that occasion, six hundred persons received communion; for a country and a Christian community so new as that one, this was a very large number, and gave all the more consolation and edification to all.

In this same year occurred a miraculous conversion of an infidel. This latter was crossing the river of Manila in one of those small boats so numerous in the islands, which do not extend more than two *dedos*⁶¹ out of the water. As there are many caimans in this river (which in that respect is another Nile), one of them happened to cross his course, and, seizing him, dragged him to the bottom with a rapidity which is their mode, by a natural instinct, of killing and securing their prey. The infidel, like another Jonas, beneath the water called with all his heart upon the God of the Christians; and instantly beheld two persons clad in white, who snatched him from the claws of the caiman, and drew him to the bank, safe and sound; and as a result of this miracle he was baptized, with his two sons, and became a Christian. The very opposite befell another Christian, who,

⁶¹ *Dedo*: originally, a finger (cf. French *doigt*): by extension, a measure of length ("a finger's breadth"); see VOL. III, p. 201.

forgetful of God, passed every night to the other side of that river to commit evil deeds. God, wearied of waiting for him, sent his "alguazil of the water"—which is the name that we give there to the cayman—who, seizing him, executed upon his person the divine chastisement for his wickedness. All this took place in Manila, in which place Ours were not long confined; they went forth, and dispersed through the islands, the number and variety of which we shall now describe in greater detail.

*Of the number and size of the Filipinas Islands.
Chapter VI.*

The islands properly called the Filipinas begin at the large island of Burnei, not far from Malaca, which serves as a roadstead for the Portuguese who sail for Maluco. This island extends from the first or second degree on the south of the equinoctial line to about the eighth degree on the north side. The Mahometan king of this island, although he retained his own religion, rendered obedience as a vassal of the crown of Castilla when Doctor Francisco de Sande⁵² was governor of the Filipinas. The island of Siao⁵³ is east of Burnei and about six or eight de-

⁵² Dr. Francisco de Sande, a native of Cáceres, left Acapulco to enter upon his governorship of the Filipinas, April 6, 1575, and arrived at Manila August 25, entering immediately upon his duties. Pedro de Chaves named in his honor the newly-founded city of Nueva Cáceres. Sande directed a personal expedition to Borneo, sailing from Manila for this purpose March 3, 1578, accompanied by forty-six native vessels. He took possession of that great island April 20, and reentered Manila July 29 with twenty-one galleys and galleots, six ships, one hundred and seventy pieces of artillery, and other war material taken from the enemy. His governorship ended June 1, 1580.—PABLO PASTELLS, S.J.

⁵³ A small island between Sangir and Tagolanda (VOL. XI, p. 297).

grees latitude toward the north; its king and his subjects are Christians, converted by the fathers of our Society who live in Maluco. To render homage to the crown of Castilla, he came to the court of Manila at the time when Gomez Perez de las Mariñas, knight of the habit of Santiago, was governor of the islands. On this journey he was accompanied by Father Antonio Marta, an Italian, the superior of the Society in the islands of Maluco, and by his companion, Father Antonio Pereira,⁵⁴ a Portuguese. I had them all as guests in a house at Tigbauan, in the island of Panai, where for two years I was instructing those peoples, to their profit and my own satisfaction, as I shall later relate. I do not mean Cian, but Siao, for that is the name of the island. Cian is not an island, but the mainland between Malaca and Camboxa, continuous with Great China and Cochin China. By journeying northward from the two islands of Siao and Burnei, one may traverse in his course from island to island the whole extent of the Filipinas; and, by going east and west, their entire width. Passing through Sarrangan, Iolo, and Taguima, which are three distinct islands, one reaches the great island of Mindanao, whence one comes to the island of Manila, the metropolitan see; as well as to Babuyan, Hermosa Island, and the greater and lesser Lequios, which include many islands. Of the more northern islands, besides those already named, those which are known and are most populous are: Manila, Mindoro, Luban, Marinduque, Cabras, Tablas, Masbate, Capul, Ibabao, Leite, Bohol, Fuegos, Negros, Imares, Panai, Cagayan, Cuyo, Cala-

⁵⁴ Sommervogel only mentions two priests of this name in the missions of India, but both of them were of later date.

mianes, Paravan – besides many others which are less known, although populated, all of which will reach forty or more in number. This is excluding other small uninhabited islands and some of fair size. Among those islands that I have mentioned there are some much larger than España, as, for example, Manila and Burnei; and others which are certainly no smaller, as Mindanao and Calamianes. Some are somewhat smaller, as Mindoro, Ibabao, and that of Negros; others very much smaller, as Leite, Sebu, and Panai, but all of them are well peopled, fertile, and rich, and not far distant from one another, and not one so small that it is not in reality large.

The island of Sebu, one of the smallest, would have, if we were to credit the statement of a certain author, a circumference of twelve leguas; but I myself have sailed along the coast of two-thirds of the island (it is triangular in shape), and assert that its circumference is more than fifty Spanish leguas.

Of the division and distribution of bishoprics and provinces in the Filipinas. Chapter VII.

At the instance of the first bishop, Don Fray Domingo de Salazar, and with the information which he gave to the Catholic king Don Felipe Second, of glorious memory, his Majesty divided those islands into four dioceses, beseeching the Holiness of our most Holy Father, Clement Eighth, to establish the aforesaid bishop as the metropolitan archbishop of the city of Manila, with three suffragan bishops.⁵⁵

⁵⁵ The supreme pontiff, Gregory XIII, erected the episcopal see of Manila December 21, 1581, with the publication of the bull *Fulti præsidio*. Clement VIII elevated it into a metropolitan church August 14, 1591, assigning to it as suffragan, the

Two of these were in that same island, one in the eastern part, and one in the western; one, the bishop of Nueva Segovia (which by sea is but sixty leguas distant from Great China); his bishopric extends as far as the Ilocos, more than a hundred leguas distant, being conterminous with the archbishopric of Manila. The other is the bishop of Camarines whose bishopric is but little smaller, reaching from the lagoon of Manila to the channel-mouth through which we enter the islands on the way thither from España. The third bishopric is even larger, for it embraces almost all the islands of the Pintados (the proper name for which is Bisayas) – beginning with the islands of Panay, Bantayan, Leite, Ibabao, and Capul, and extending to the great island of Mindanao and the more southern islands. Its cathedral and see are in the city of Santissimo Nombre de Jesus, so named from the discovery of [an image of] the Child Jesus which was found there, as we have related.

The people of the Bisayas are called the Pintados, because they are actually adorned with pictures [Span. *pintados* – i.e., painted, or tattooed] – not because this is natural to them, although they are well built, of pleasing countenance, and white; but because they adorn their bodies with figures from head to foot, when they are young and have sufficient strength and energy to suffer the torment of the tattooing; and formerly they tattooed themselves when they had performed some act of valor. They tattoo themselves by pricking the skin until the blood

churches of Cebú, Nueva Segovia, and Nueva Cáceres. To these was added that of Santa Isabel de Paro in 1865, and lastly those of Lipa, Tuguegaras, Cápiz, and Zamboanga, in virtue of the apostolic decree *Quæ in mari sinico*, given by Leo XIII at St. Peter's in Roma, September 17, 1902.— PABLO PASTELLS, S.J.

comes, with sharp, delicate points, according to designs and lines which are first drawn by those who practice this art; and upon this freshly-bleeding surface they apply a black powder, which is never effaced. They do not tattoo the body all at the same time, but by degrees, so that the process often lasts a long time; in ancient times, for each part which was to be tattooed the person must perform some new act of bravery or valiant deed. The tattooed designs are very ingenious, and are well adapted to those members or parts whereon they are placed. During my stay in the Filipinas, I was wont to say, in my satisfaction and admiration for the fine appearance of those natives, that if one of them were brought to Europe much money could be made by exhibiting him. Children are not tattooed, and the women tattoo all of one hand and part of the other. They do not, however, on this account go naked; they wear well-made collarless robes, which reach the ankle and are of cotton bordered with colors: when they are in mourning, these robes are white. They take off these robes in their houses, and in places where garments are unnecessary; but everywhere and always they are very attentive and watchful to cover their persons, with great care and modesty, wherein they are superior to other nations, especially to the Chinese.

The Catholic king also decreed, for the sake of peace, and to facilitate the preaching of the gospel, that the provinces of the religious orders should remain distinct, and that there should be no interference or confusion between the religious and the clergy. He left the orders of St. Francis and St. Augustine from that time in those districts of Indians

which they previously occupied, which are numerous and very good. He bestowed upon the Order of St. Dominic, which had gone thither five or six years later than our Society, the remaining territory in the bishopric of Nueva Segovia. To us he granted the islands of Ibabao, Capul, Leite, Samar, Bohol, and others in that vicinity, as well as authority to found a college in the city of Santissimo Nombre de Jesus.

How the Society extended its labors to the villages of the Indians outside of Manila. Chapter VIII.

At this time we had again brought our number in Manila to five. In the place of Father Alonso Sanchez, who was absent in España, and of the late Father Hernan Suarez, two others of us had gone to the islands and had learned the language; and one of us, in holy obedience to orders given him, and at the instance of a prebendary of Manila, began to use it in his benefice, fourteen leguas from the city. The principal village of this district is called Balayan; in it and in numerous other villages of the same region there are many good Christians, converted by the discalced friars of the Order of the seraphic Father St. Francis – especially in Balayan, among whose inhabitants there are many persons of note, who are very intelligent and well disposed. During several years an apostolic man of that order preached there, named Father Juan de Oliver, whose holy teaching shone forth in the piety and devotion of that people. I dwelt in that district for more than two months, and during my stay they kept me well occupied in the baptism of children and adults, and in confessions and communions, which were so numerous that all that time seemed to me a Holy Week. All these peo-

ples hold our holy law in the highest esteem, and therefore have the deepest respect for its priests. I shall relate in this connection an incident that befell me at this time with some of the chiefs of Balayan. There was an epidemic of small-pox (called by them Bolotong), which was killing off children and old men, although more fatal to adults than to the young. I was in the habit of walking through the principal streets twice a day, morning and night, when I would send boys on both sides of the street to discover and indicate to me those who desired confession and baptism. Whenever they sent for me (which was not seldom), I entered the house; all the living-rooms are in the upper part, the lower floor being used only for household duties. And it was no small labor to ascend and descend so often, especially by ladders of cane; which are used everywhere. One day, when busied in this my occupation, I passed by a group of their chiefs, who, upon perceiving me, formed a row on one side of the street and saluted me all together, uncovering their heads, and making a low bow. I, inclining my head, removed my cap and passed on. They appreciated my politeness, and considered themselves so favored and honored by it that, upon my return, they displayed the same courtesy, standing in line, and then they all fell upon their knees, as if they desired to excel me in politeness; for that which I had shown them when I first approached seemed to them all too much. My greatest aid to them was at Lian, three leguas from Balayan, in which place – as well as in another near by, called Manisua – I converted many to Christianity and heard many confessions. I was here on Ash Wednesday; not only did the adults receive the ashes with

incredible reverence and devotion, but all the mothers brought all their children to receive the emblem, and were not willing to depart until they and all the others had received. For this journey I thank and am deeply grateful to the bishop who was most earnestly desirous that Ours should aid in so important a ministry. As it was clearly evident that the villages of Taitai, Antipolo, and others of that encomienda – which was six leguas from Manila, up the river, and in which there were already some Christians – contained many infidels who should be converted, he entrusted it to the Society. Through the grace of Jesus Christ our Lord, such fruitful results were accomplished as shall be seen in the course of this narrative. I shall simply state for the present that, at the end of ten years, I was in the habit of saying (in imitation of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus) that I was most thankful to our Lord, for, when I entered the place, I found hardly forty Christians, and at the end of that time there were not four infidels. If I am not mistaken, we baptized with our own hands more than seven thousand souls; and today it is one of the most flourishing of Christian communities that Holy Church possesses, and none in those regions is superior to it.

How the village of Taitai improved its site. Chapter IX.

At that time the village of Taitai lay along the water, on the banks of a marsh or stream formed by waterfalls from the mountains of Antipolo, which emptied into the river near the same mouth by which it flows out of the lagoon. It was situated in a most beautiful and extensive valley, formed between the


lagoon and the mountains; and so low that each year, when the waters of the lagoon rise on account of the floods from the many rivers which enter it, the valley is flooded and submerged as is Egypt by the Nile, and remains thus inundated from August until October or November. At this period the valley itself becomes a lagoon of more than an estado in depth, and can be traversed only by means of boats. This inundation abundantly fertilizes the rice fields and seeded lands with which the valley is covered, and, as a result, rich and abundant harvests are gathered. The water enters at the proper season when the rice stalks are hardening and are beginning to ear; consequently the copious irrigation helps it to form seed without hindering the grain from hardening, or the harvest from being gathered. On the contrary it is a convenience, as I myself have often seen, to go in boats for the reaping, and in those boats to bring the bundles of grain to the houses, where they are exposed to the sun to dry. When it is thoroughly dry they thresh and clean it, and store it in their granaries. This inundation not only flooded the village – to such an extent that the streets could be traversed only in boats, in which I went often enough – but also, although the floor of the church had been raised and repairs made to guard against the water, it flowed in over the steps, even to the main altar. On account of this inundation they had selected, not far from the church and farther back from the water, a hill, where those who died during this season were interred. For mass they repaired to Antipolo, which lies a scant three miles inland among the mountains. The first time when I saw my church flooded, and realized that I could not say mass in it,

I was obliged to believe what I had never been able to credit, although I had been often told of it. It is customary for these villages, for greater convenience of government, to be divided into districts on the plan of parishes, which they call *barangais*. Each one of these is under the command of a chief, who governs it and appoints those who are to provide for all contingencies; the latter are called *datos*. At that time this village had four hundred families and was divided into four *barangais*; consequently there were four *datos*, each one of whom had charge of a hundred inhabitants who are called collectively *catongohan*. I summoned my four *datos* and from the choir I showed them the altar; they saw (and they had known it beforehand) that mass could not be celebrated. "Without celebrating mass each day," I said to them, "although I may be unworthy of it, I cannot live, for that is my sustenance which gives me strength to serve you for Christ's sake. Now I must go where I can say it — that is, to Antipolo. If you wish to see me again, you will build for me, on the hill where the dead are now buried, a little church in which I can say mass, with some little room to which I can retire; until this be done, I remain with God;" and I went away. Desiring my return, they soon began the work and finished it in such wise that I could stay and celebrate mass, and, too, serve as an attraction to any one who might pass that way. At first they did very little, and that slowly; but as it was necessary to dismantle the church and carry to the hill its materials, and with these the cross belonging to the cemetery, they soon began to show such haste in migrating to the new village that ten or twelve of them crowded into one house, until each

one could build his own. Surprised at such haste, I inquired its cause, and they told me that at night they suffered from fear of the demons in the old village, because it had now no church or cross; and so no one dared to sleep there. With this change the village greatly improved its site. That they might not lack water near by for bathing (to which all those nations are much addicted), they carefully opened a ditch at the base of the hill, along the edge of the village, by which water could come in from the stream which they formerly had. Along the streets and around the village they planted their groves and palm-trees, which enrich and beautify it. They afterward constructed on the new site a very beautiful temple with the help of the king our lord, who paid a third of its cost, as his Majesty does for all the churches. Since I have mentioned the baths it is fitting to relate what I can tell about them.

Of baths in the Philippines. Chapter X.

From the time when they are born, these islanders are brought up in the water. Consequently both men and women swim like fishes, even from childhood, and have no need of bridges to pass over rivers. They bathe themselves at all hours, for cleanliness and recreation; and even the women after childbirth do not refrain from the bath, and children just born are bathed in the rivers and springs of cold water. When leaving the bath, they anoint the head with ajonjoli [*i.e.*, oil of sesame] mixed with civet—of which, as we shall later show, there is great abundance in those regions. Even when not bathing, they are accustomed to anoint their heads for comfort and adornment, especially the women and children.



Through modesty, they bathe with their bodies drawn up and almost in a sitting posture, with the water to the neck, taking the greatest care not to be seen, although no one may be near to see them. The most general hour for bathing is at the setting of the sun, because at that time they have finished their labors, and bathe in the river to rest and refresh themselves; on the way, they usually carry some vessel for bearing water to use in their domestic duties. In the island of Panay I saw all the people, at the conclusion of a burial, hasten to the river upon leaving the church and bathe there, as was the custom among the Jews – although these Indias have no knowledge of that dead law. They keep a vessel full of water before the door of every house; every person, whether belonging to the house or not, who enters it takes water from the jar with which to wash his feet before entering, especially during the season of much mud. They wash their feet with great facility, rubbing one foot with the other: the water flows down through the floor of the house, which is all of cane and fashioned like a window-grating with bars close together.

They also employ the baths as a medicine, and God our Lord has given them for this purpose springs of hot water. In the last few years the hot springs of Bai, on the banks of the lagoon of Bai, have been most healthful and famous, and many Spaniards of both sexes as well as ecclesiastics and religious, have had recourse to them in various maladies and recovered their health. And, indeed, the ease and delightfulness of the trip almost compel one to undertake it, even though he may not need it. The [Pasig] River extends inland as much as six leguas;

and from its source in the lagoon until it reaches the bay of Manila, it is dotted with houses, gardens, and stock-farms, in most delightful variety. As the trees in that climate bear leaves the whole year through, their verdure and coolness increase the charm. I noticed but two trees which shed their leaves; both of them are wild, and do not bear fruit, but both are highly useful and valued for that reason. One is the balete," which grows very tall, has a round, cup-shaped head, like a moderately large walnut tree, and is of a most delightful green. Its leaves are somewhat narrow, like those of the almond tree; and are hard, compact, and glossy to the touch, like those of the orange tree. The Filipinos prize them for their use in cooking, as we do the laurel and the rosemary. This tree is very hardy, and most often flourishes in rocky places: it has a natural tendency to produce roots over almost the whole surface of its trunk so that it appears to be covered with a beard. The Chinese, who are really ingenious, are wont to plant one of these trees on a stone (so small that both the tree and stone can be held in the hand), just as if it were in a flower-pot, and then it can be carried from one place to another; and the tree, like a dwarfed orange tree, grows in proportion to its roots, hardly reaching five palmos in height. As this method of planting these trees on a stone may seem as difficult as it is curious, I shall describe how I have seen it done.

" "The balete tree (*Ficus Urostigima* - Sp.) corresponds to our witch elm, and certainly at night has a most uncanny appearance. Each of these great trees has its guardian spirit, or *Tic-balan*" (Sawyer, *Inhabitants of Philippines*, pp. 214, 343). See also Blanco's *Flora*, art. "Ficus." Chirino speaks of this tree as having no fruit; he must have observed specimens which bore only sterile flowers.

They take a sprout of the tree when it is already covered with roots, and a stone which must not be too hard, or smooth, but not very solid, and somewhat porous or hollow. These stones are found there in abundance among the reefs and shoals of the sea. They tie the little tree or sprout to this stone, covering the latter so far as possible on all sides with the fibres and roots; and to make it grow, they cover the stone with water. With the water the tree clings much more readily to the stone, entwines about it, and becomes grafted into all its pores and cavities, embracing it with remarkable amity and union. A large balete stands in the patio [*i.e.*, inner court] of our house in Manila, near the regular entrance. In the year 1602, in the month of April or May, I saw it all withered, with its leaves falling. Thinking that it was dying I was greatly grieved, for I did not wish to lose so fine a tree. My sorrow was increased when I saw it next day almost without a leaf; and I showed it to our procurator, who chanced to be with me while I was inspecting the tree. But on the third day I beheld it covered with new leaves, tender and beautiful, at which I was as rejoiced as I had previously been saddened; for it is in truth a beautiful tree. In this I saw represented, as in a picture, the truth of the resurrection.

There is another tree which they call *dabdab*.⁵⁷ Its leaves also have an agreeable taste and serve as a lining for the inside of the kettle in which they cook their rice, preventing the latter from adhering to the sides. This tree is very similar to the almond-

⁵⁷ The *Erythrina* (*indica*, Lam.; *carnea*, Bl.); see Blanco's *Flora*, pp. 393, 394, and Delgado's *Historia*, pp. 429, 430, for descriptions of this tree (named by them *dapdap*).

tree, although its trunk and leaves are much larger. These leaves are nearly as large as the palm of the hand and shaped like a heart. It apparently dies in September and revives in January, when the flower appears, before the leaf; it is different from the balete, being larger and of a different shape, and red like a ruby.

Among other plants brought from Nueva España to the Filipinas is the anona,⁸⁸ which has grown larger and is more successfully raised in these islands; it yields a most delicious and delicate fruit. It also loses its leaves, but soon renews them, almost as quickly as does the balete.

But, to return to the river of Manila – over which the passage to the baths is made in boats, large or small according to the number of passengers – by going up the stream the lagoon is reached; this, with its forty leagues of circumference, is one of the most remarkable objects in the world. All that region is full of rivers, villages, and groves. The lagoon itself is of fresh water, and has many islets which render it beautiful. It abounds in fish, and in herons, ducks, and other water-fowl. Above all, it contains many crocodiles or caimans (which there are called *buaya*), which cause great havoc among the poor fishermen and traders who navigate the river – especially in stormy weather, when the waters become tumultuous, as often happens, and swamp their vessels.

Of the mission at Tigbauan, and what the fathers of the Society accomplished there. Chapter XI.

In January of the year fifteen hundred and ninety-

⁸⁸ *Anona*, of several species; one is commonly known as “cus-

two, one of us two who were employed at Taitai had to depart for the island of Panai to give instruction and continue the work of conversion in the encomienda of Tigbauan. The island of Panai, as I have already said, is in the province of the Pintados, in the diocese of Sebu. It is a little more than a hundred leguas in circumference, and, in all its extent, most temperate and fertile. Its inhabitants are the Bissayas, a white people, who have among them some blacks—the ancient inhabitants of the island, who occupied it before the Bissayas did. They are not so dark or ugly as are the natives of Guinea, but are very diminutive and weak; but in their hair and beard they closely resemble the Guineans. They are much more barbarous and untamed than are the Bissayas and most of the Filipinos, for they have not, like those peoples, houses or fixed sites for their villages. They do not sow seed, or gather harvests; but with their women and children wander, half naked, over the mountains like beasts. They capture on foot the deer and the javali,⁹⁹ and on the spot where they capture an animal they stop, and feed upon it as long as it lasts. Their only natural property is the bow and arrow. The Bissayas through natural compassion have not destroyed these blacks, who are not

tard-apple," another as "sour-sop." The species *A. squamosa* (Tagal, *Ates*) is regarded as producing the best fruit.

⁹⁹ A species of wild hog, *Sus scropha*. In all the large islands of the Asiatic archipelago may be found wild swine, of various species. "The flesh of the hog must have formed a principal part of the animal food of the nations and tribes of the archipelago before the conversion to Mohammedanism. It did so with the people of the Philippine Islands on the arrival of the Spaniards, and it does so still with all the rude tribes, and even with the Hindoos of Bali and Lomboc" (Crawfurd's *Dictionary*, pp. 152, 153). See Zúñiga's *Estadismo* (Retana's ed.), ii, p. 438.*

hostile to them, although they have little dealing with the Bissayas. While I was in Tigbauan, however, a petty war occurred between them which is worth relating for what it shows of such wars among these nations, and their triumphs and trophies. A Bissayan chief, who lived in his solitary house among the mountains, distant from the villages, had a friendship – or, for all I know, a relationship – with a leading Negrillo, who was also headman among his people. Under the cover of this friendship, the Negrillo took his opportunity, as I shall relate, to do a treacherous act. He came one day, as he had often done before, to pay a visit to his friend, who received him as such and gave him food and drink – an act which should soften the most bloodthirsty heart, even if he had been offended. But the Negrillo, without heeding the obligation imposed by kind deeds or by the goodwill with which they had been conferred upon him, seized his host unawares, and took his life, also slaying all the other members of his family – men, women, and children. His crime, however, did not go unpunished. A spirited young man, son of the dead man – not daring alone to avenge himself upon the black, who had been reënforced by others of his own color – assembled his kinsmen and friends; besides these [so many joined him that] all the villages of the island were depopulated, in order to fall upon the Negrillos – all eager to enslave the women and children, this being a great source of wealth among those people; they accomplished their purpose, killing many men. This lasted until the matter became known to the royal officials in that region, who pacified them. At the entrance of some of the villages, I saw the trophies of this victory and some of

the slaves. The trophies were thus made: one of the large canes, already described, very tall, was driven into the ground. At its point were two, or three, or more pendent bannerets like streamers or pennants, and on them the hair of the dead foes. These blacks have had very little to do with the Spaniards, not so much through hate as from fear and mistrust of them. It has already happened that Spaniards, unaccompanied and straying from the road, have fallen into their hands; but with a few presents and fair words they have been allowed to go free. They also fear the priests as being Spaniards, making no distinction between them. For this reason we could not undertake their conversion, although they were near to the villages of Tigbauan; on this account all our energy was directed towards the Bissayas alone.

They call the reed-grass *tigbao*, and, by derivation, the lands which bear this grass are called Tigbauan; and because the site of this village is close to a great expanse of reedy land on the bank of a beautiful stream, it bears the above name. The village itself was on the same shore, at the mouth of the river – which, as well as the sea, yields various kinds of fish, excellent and plentiful, which I myself have enjoyed in abundance. As they were continually fishing on the beach, usually with three or four nets, they never made a haul without devoutly regaling us with a part of it. Tigbauan has a very beautiful district, with many villages extending more than six leguas along the coast of the sea; the entire district is well supplied with game, fruits, and vegetables, and fish from the sea. The people are very industrious; consequently I always saw them occupied – the men, with their fisheries and farming; the women, with their

spinning and weaving. What we accomplished in the two years spent among a people so good and well-disposed towards the Gospel could be told in less time than what we left undone; for, since we of the Society of Jesus were then so few, and had little hope of increasing our number, we did not dare to undertake more than we thought could probably be maintained; and in this we were not mistaken, for at the present day, when at least a dozen ministers are needed, there is actually but one secular priest. For that reason we did not dare to baptize adults or children, except in cases of extreme danger, outside of the chief village (which is Tigbauan) and two or three other outlying hamlets, distant two miles or less.

Nevertheless we preached the faith throughout that vicinity in the Haraya language, and even translated into the same tongue and taught the Christian doctrine and the catechism, which formerly they knew only in the Bissaya, a language different from the one they speak.⁹⁰ Many churches were erected, and some who had been baptized were confirmed in the faith. Some improper relations were dissolved and converted into Christian matrimony. In Tigbauan and its villages, besides the baptism of many children and adults, there were introduced the holy sacraments of confession, communion, and extreme unction, the last of which they neither knew nor had ever heard of. Church-feasts were celebrated with vespers and solemn masses, particularly at Easter and in Holy Week. A large school was formed, containing the children of all that region, where they learned to read, write, play musical instruments, and

⁹⁰ The Haraya is a Visayan dialect.

sing; two children from this school were sent every week to each one of the churches in the district, to take care of it and to assemble each afternoon the people of the village to repeat the doctrine in front of the church, as was done in Tigbauan. Here occurred an event regarding a boy, which gave me great satisfaction. An infidel chief living in a village called Taroc, a legua from Tigbauan, had a little son who was a Christian, a child of five or six years – of whom I knew nothing, as they had concealed him and others from me, being reluctant, through their natural barbarity and wildness, to hold intercourse with us and deliver up the objects of their affection. This child fell ill, and, realizing his condition, urged his infidel parents to summon me. They made me repair to him in great haste, for as I was told that the sick boy had called for me, I was convinced that he was not so young that he could not at least confess. In short, I went; I merely read the gospel to him, and in a few days he was cured of his sickness. As a result of the visit, which was greatly appreciated by the people, that village was won – especially his own parents, who were afterward pleased to have their son go to Tigbauan to join the school with the rest. The town of Arevalo is three leagues distant from Tigbauan; we also assisted there in the pulpit and the confessional, at the instance of the Spaniards who resided there, and of the bishop's vicar, in whose charge they were. This vicar was then the licentiate Don Francisco Gomez Arellano, archdeacon of Manila, through whose earnestness and devotion divine worship was greatly augmented in that church, and its service increased. This vicar embellished it with new ornaments, very rich and

curious, such as lamps and silver candlesticks, thereby augmenting the reputation and esteem of our holy religion among those new nations.

Of our departure from Tigbauan and our entrance into Sebu, Leite, and other islands. Chapter XII.

At this time died Father Martin Henriquez, who had remained in Taitai; he gave way under the laborious task of ministering alone to so many souls, which he did with such perfection and fervor that it was impossible to maintain strength for so much. This father was so fervent and energetic that in three months he had learned the language; and, in six, composed in it a catechism and a treatise on confession. He also prepared a collection of sermons for all the Sundays and feasts, and on the four last things,⁶¹ as well as other matters profitable to those peoples, who greatly respected his purity of life and the vigor of his preaching. I have seen him leave his food, to go to administer baptism or extreme unction to a sick man. He was most devoted to our Lady, and, whenever he sat down to study, he took out a little image of her which he always carried with him, and placed it on the table that he might have it before him. Every day I saw him, among other holy exercises, recite his rosary, and devote one half-hour to prayer in the afternoons (besides the entire hour in the morning); and every night he would scourge himself. He was an indefatigable worker, and consequently slept little, which was more than he could endure. He died a holy death, the same year when

⁶¹ That is, the most important things which happen to men in leaving this world — death, judgment, heaven, and hell; this subject is also included under the term "eschatology."

he came to the Filipinas, before twelve months had elapsed; and, when his work is considered, we wonder that he lived so long. On account of his death, Father Francisco Almerique was obliged to leave Manila – where his duties were by no means light among the Indians of that city and district, who all sought his aid. As he had abandoned these heavy labors only to undertake others as great, he soon fell ill. To lighten his burden, the two who had remained in Manila took up the double task; these two were the father rector, Antonio Sedeño, and Father Raymundo de Prado. They took turns in doing this work, one remaining a week in Manila while the other went to Taitai. This sort of life could not last long; and so our Lord, who aids the greatest necessities, inspired the good father to inform me of the difficulties in which they were, and order me to return to Manila. There we could plan our course of life in accordance with the advices which might come to us in the ships, which were expected soon – either uniting the four of us who remained, to do what we could in the city; or, if a reënforcement should come to us, extending our labors in securing conversions, according to the number of our men.

I reached Manila in May of the year fifteen hundred and ninety-five, leaving in Tigbauan and its vicinity, and in the town of Arevalo, not a few persons sorrowing at my departure. The general, Doctor Antonio de Morga, arrived in the following June, having come to serve as lieutenant of the governor and captain-general of the islands. He brought with him two fine vessels, and eight priests⁶² of our Society.

⁶² They were Fathers Alonso de Humanes, superior, Juan del Campo, Mateo Sánchez, Juan de Ribera, Cosme de Flores, Tomás

The joy of the communities of Manila and Sebu, and of Ours, was beyond belief upon learning that these fathers had arrived. From both places, requests came in to us for priests: from Manila, for instruction and schools, of which its sons were in great want; from Sebu, for a college which they desired in their city. On the other hand, the lieutenant governor of his Catholic Majesty urged that the Society should take charge of a province of Indians as did the other religious orders; and the Indians themselves, with several encomenderos, supported this request. Finally an effort was made to satisfy everyone, in the way which I shall relate. Four of us priests went to the island of Leite which we reached on the day of the Triumph of the Holy Cross, the sixteenth of July of the same year. Two of us remained at Carigara in the house of Christoval de Trujillo, the owner of that encomienda, a man of eminent piety, and our benefactor. He straightway built for us there the first house that we possessed in that island. The other two of us went along the coast of that island and those of Ibabao and Samar, observing what peoples and posts were best adapted at that time for our settlement. We returned to Carigara at the end of July, where, thanks to the incredible haste and large number of the Indians, we found our house finished and the two fathers established in it. Early in August, I had information from the father vice-provincial, An-de Montoya, Juan Bosque, and Diego Sánchez. They left Acapulco March 22, and cast anchor at Cavite June 10. Dr. Morga, appointed by virtue of a royal decree, given at El Escorial, August 18, 1593, left Cádiz with his wife and six children in February, 1594, and Acapulco on the same date as the above-mentioned fathers. Under his charge was the aid for the islands, taken to Manila by the galleons "San Felipe" and "Santiago."

— PABLO PASTELLS, S.J.

tonio Sedeño, that he had arrived at Sebu with two other priests, and summoned me thither. Father Juan del Campo and Father Cosme de Flores remained in Carigara, and undertook the study of the Bissaya language with great fervor. Father Antonio Pereira and I, with another brother, went on to Sebu in conformity with the order of the father vice-provincial. Father Antonio Pereira had remained with Ours in these islands from the time of his arrival, as I said, with the king of Siao, waiting for the conclusion of business which the king and Father Antonio Marta could not wait for – the latter, because he could not longer absent himself from his province and subordinates: the former, because he could not remain longer away from his kingdom and his vassals. This good father was so eager and zealous for the welfare of souls that, although a guest, he did not permit himself one moment of idleness, but always busied himself in the pulpit and confessional and in other ministries for the welfare of souls. We reached Sebu in the middle of August, where we found our good father and superior sick, in the house of a regidor of the city; and with him were Father Alonso Humanes, who had gone as superior during the journey from Nueva España, and Father Mateo Sanchez. He presently sent these two fathers to Leite, with orders to divide it into two stations, two fathers in each – one pair taking Carigara (where the two fathers had remained whom I have already mentioned); the other, Dulac, which is about sixty miles further on. These are both maritime villages with a situation and territory well adapted for undertaking the conversion of that new people, until then untaught. The aforementioned Father Alonso Hu-

manes was appointed superior of both stations. In Sebu Ours had already fixed upon the site which we now possess, partly purchased with offerings from the citizens, and partly bestowed by the city and private persons. Accompanying the land was a goodly house of wood, which with little work could be made to accommodate the church and our dwelling. Father Ramon de Prado had remained in Manila as rector, with the other four fathers, two of whom were sent to ~~Terni~~ to aid Father Francisco Almerique: of the two who remained in Manila, Father Tomas de Montoya²² began to teach Latin, and Father Juan de Ribera attended to matters of conscience.

The death of Father Antonio Sedeño, first rector of the college of Manila, and first vice-provincial of the Society of Jesus in the Filipinas. Chapter XIII.

The first thing which the father vice-provincial, Antonio Sedeño, enjoined upon me on his arrival at Sebu was that I should at all events hasten the completion of the house, and carry him to it, for it was his wish to die in the house of the Society. This I

²² In *Menology of the English Province*, S. J. (Rochampton, 1874) is the following notice (July 14): "At Manila, in the Philippine Islands, in 1627, Father Thomas de Montoya, an Indian of Florida. After thirty years of indefatigable labor among those nations, he died by slow poison, given by the Bassians [Bisayans?] out of hatred to the Faith." The statement regarding his nativity is, however, erroneous. "Murillo Velarde states (*Historia*, lib. viii, cap. x, no. 57) that this father was born, not in Florida, but at Zacatecas (Mexico), in 1568. He entered the Society at the age of eighteen, in the Mexican province, and passed over to that of the Philippines in 1595 (the year when it was formed). There he filled successively the offices of Latin teacher at Manila, master of novices, and missionary to the Pintados. These Indians poisoned him, after which it seems that he returned to Manila, where his life was a continued martyrdom.

did, having him conveyed on men's shoulders in a covered bed, for he was so ill that he could not go in any other way. I was greatly rejoiced at this, and he was extremely relieved at finding himself in his new home. His illness was increased by the hardships of the toilsome journey from Manila, one hundred and fifty leagues away, in the season of the vendavals and the rains, which in the bay of Manila, and as far as the entrance into the province of Pintados, is the most difficult and dangerous of the whole year. In this case, the burden of these hardships and torments fell upon a person so feeble, infirm, old, and exhausted that, although he arrived at Sebu in fair health, their effect was greatly aggravated by his immediately commencing work with two sermons, which were highly regarded in that community. But his efforts so prostrated him that he took to his bed with a fever, which so exhausted him that his holy life came to an end on the first of September of the same year, fifteen hundred and ninety-five. In life, and no less in his death, this holy man was a rare example of virtue; and so, in both, he was highly esteemed by all classes and ranks of people – especially by ecclesiastics and religious, who recognized in him an admirable virtue. When but a youth he left España in the service of the Duke of Feria. He was received into the Society at Loreto, studied in Padua, and had charge of the Germanic College in Rome. From this place blessed Father Francisco de Borja⁶⁴ sent him to

To the sufferings from the effect of the poison were added those of a violent asthma. He possessed perfectly the Tagal language." (See *Woodstock Letters*, 1900, vol. 29, pp. 154, 155.) He is also mentioned by Colin (*Hist. misiones*, part ii, book iii, p. 334).— E. I. DEVERE, S.J. (Georgetown College).


⁶⁴ Francisco de Borja (Borgia), Duke of Gandia (a city in

Japon. Upon reaching Sevilla, however, he learned that the ships bound for the Indias had already left Lisboa. Waiting at this latter place for further instructions he was given the choice of embarking, at his pleasure, for either Piru or Florida. He chose Florida as a place which, in its poverty, offered greater opportunities of suffering there many hardships for the sake of Christ. In this he was not deceived; for in Florida, and later in Habana, he suffered greatly on sea and land, from hunger, cold, exhaustion, storms, hardships, exposure, and mortal perils. It often happened that he fell to the ground, while walking on the shore – sick, powerless to move, and among Indians most cruel in war, who had killed others of the Society; and yet he escaped, how, he knew not. Many a time did he eat no more than a handful of maize, planted and gathered by his own hands; for whatever else he might have must be given to poor soldiers. During a pestilence which had spread among those savages he became a physician, for he could baptize them if they should die; in this way he sent many of them to heaven. From Florida he was sent to Nueva España, and was the first of the Society to enter the City of Mexico, where by his virtuous life and teachings, he inspired the viceroy, the auditors of the Audiencia, and the citizens with such affection that they sought to bring over from España members of the Society, in order to found a college in Mexico. This was done and Father Antonio Sedeño was made rector: he laid the foundations and erected a building, which stands to

Spain), entered the Jesuit order in 1551, becoming its general in 1565; he held this office until his death, September 30, 1572. He was beatified in 1624, and canonized in 1671.

this day. He went over to the Filipinas, as we have said, where his occupations were such as we have already related. While on the sea, he and his companions lived in their cabin in such modest retirement, and were so dignified in their bearing, that they spread tranquillity throughout the vessel, and accordingly their teaching was highly valued. He lived forty years in the Society, to its great edification, and preached for fifteen years in the Filipinas with admirable results. He suffered greatly from asthma, and consequently slept almost always in a chair. But he did not, on this account, allow himself any recreation, or cease to eat fish alone during Lent and fast days. It might be more accurately said that he but seldom ate at all, so great was his abstinence – which he, moreover, sought to conceal, feigning, with much dissimulation, that he ate of everything, when in reality it was a mere pretense of eating. He was very contrite; severe toward himself, but gentle to others; most exact in obedience, but very reserved and cautious in command; courteous and honorable in his dealings; liberal, generous, and devout. He gave or obtained aid for many needy persons, and all esteemed him for his labors. He was most zealous for the welfare of souls, and for the prosperity and preservation of the Filipinas, and for their settlement and aggrandizement. We have already related what he accomplished in building. He was the first to discover lime there, and made the first roof-tile, and erected the first building. He sought out Chinese artists, whom he kept in his house to paint images, not only for our churches but for others, both within and without Manila. He encouraged the encomenderos and the parish priests to

provide their churches with these images, and made it most easy to procure them. Thus almost all the churches in the islands were adorned with images, nearly all of which were of the Mother of God. He took great interest in planting groves and in laying out gardens, and was anxious that silk should be produced in the islands, hoping thus to retain there for their benefit the money which was going to China, and thus to secure their prosperity. To this end he planted mulberry trees, and was active in other ways, even constructing a loom, and teaching the Indians to weave in the European fashion. He was accustomed to say that the highest form of prayer was that which most inclines one to self-mortification; and he so practiced this that his own life was a perpetual mortification. He taught this in the house and elsewhere; and in his own exercises he could not use any other method than mortification. His sermons were all on fear, judgment, and condemnation. He said that this was what the world needed; and he was not mistaken, for in truth he accomplished great results through this teaching. One of his hearers, who was once praising to me his instruction, repeated an expression which the father often used, and which had deeply impressed him: "There [*i.e.*, "in the other world?"] you will understand it," he would say with wonderful truth and force. In our household intercourse with him, he would assert that he who aspires to perfection must be convinced that the pleasures of food, drink, the couch, idleness, and the like, are not for him. All this, however, he did not urge by force, but rather taught it in a kindly manner, and gently guiding each one according to the strength which God had given him — although



he said that God gave strength to all in proportion to their courage in working and suffering for His love. He also said that one should die rather than commit the slightest venial sin; and in his own case he was so rigid in this respect that at times it seemed excess of scruple. His life was certainly most pure, and his death like unto his life. During his illness we all admired his great patience and resignation in the hands of God.

Father Antonio Pereira used to say that he often visited him in order that he might profit and be edified by so admirable an example. The day when he died, we had already noticed in the morning that extreme unction should not be any longer withheld from him; and so I prepared him to receive it, telling him that it seemed to be time. He raised his eyes and hands toward heaven with great devotion, exclaiming: "To pass to eternity!" With this he became lost in thought, spoke not another word, and, receiving with much devotion that holy sacrament, died in peace. He did not become rigid or discolored in death, but preserved his bright color, and his limbs remained soft and flexible, until he was buried. All the ecclesiastics and religious of the city of Santissimo Nombre de Jesus, all the regidors, and the honorable and prominent people, attended his funeral rites, which were celebrated with great solemnity, devotion and tenderness.⁶⁸ In Manila also, on account of the devotion of all classes for him, solemn funeral honors were held, and were attended not only with the tears and sorrow of all classes, but by the authority and concourse of all ranks and religious orders. This

⁶⁸ His remains are now entombed to the right of the transept of the Cebú cathedral.—PABLO PASTELLS, S.J.

holy man was lost to us at a time when we were in great straits over the founding of that vice-province of the Society, which we had hoped would be successfully established through his energy and prudence. But there remained with us a great confidence that he would aid us no less in death than in life; and thus his influence was seen in the prosperous increase after his holy death of our ministries and other affairs, especially in the college of Sebu, which is indebted to his holy body as the foundation-stone of all its growth.

Of other and new members of the Society who went to the islands in the year fifteen hundred and ninety-six. Chapter XIV.

In the fleet of this year fifteen hundred and ninety-five, our very reverend father-general, Claudio Aquaviva, sent to the Filipinas Father Francisco de Vera, with twenty-four of the Society, at the request and expense of his Majesty the Catholic king, Don Felipe Second. With all these, he reached Nueva España in the same year; and, in the following, he embarked at the port of Acapulco for the Filipinas with fourteen members of the Society, with the governor, Don Francisco Tello.⁶⁶ In order that this voyage from Nueva España to the Filipinas may be successfully made, it should be undertaken by the middle of March, at the latest, so as to reach the Filipinas before the vendavals or southwest winds of June

⁶⁶ Don Francisco Tello entered Manila July 14. He had left Acapulco March 6, with Father Vera. The latter's companions were Fathers López de la Parra, Manuel Martínez, Valerio de Ledesma, Juan de Torres, Gabriel Sánchez, Miguel Gómez, Juan de San Lucar, Francisco de Otazo, Alonso Rodríguez, Cristobal Jiménez, Francisco de Encinas, Diego de Santiago, Leonardo Scelsi, and Bartolomé Martes. — PABLO PASTELLS, S.J.

set in, which are very tempestuous – like the north winds in Nueva España which begin in September. As these vessels left the port of Acapulco so late, upon reaching the Filipinas they encountered vendavals which exposed them to great peril and hardship. It has happened that vessels, leaving late as did these, upon striking these vendavals in the Filipinas, have been obliged to turn back with these winds to the Ladrones Islands, and to return thence with the brisas from those islands to the Filipinas; then, reaching the latter, to encounter the vendavals, and again be driven by their force to the Ladrones. The hindrance and privation thus experienced can be imagined; nor can the ship land at either islands until the months of October and November when the vendavals cease.

Almost the same thing befell Ours that year. The vendavals and currents long drove them back, and, in consequence, their voyage was lengthened, and provisions ran short; the ship's stores gave out, and, that they might not lack water, they were allotted small rations, each being given but half a quartillo a day – a privation which at sea is keenly felt. Finally, relieved from all these hardships and torments, through the mercy of God they arrived safely at the college in Manila on the first day of August of the same year. This voyage is usually made in seventy days, but they, to their own greater merit, did not reach the islands before one hundred and thirty days; and afterward they journeyed more than one hundred leguas besides, by both sea and land, coasting the shore in large boats. They crossed by land the province of Camarines, all of which is occupied by the convents of the glorious father St. Francis, where

they were received and cared for according to their dire necessities; even the father commissary of those provinces, heedless of entreaties or excuses, washed with his own hands the feet of six of Ours, who chanced to pass by his abode. The first words with which one of those servants of the Lord received them were the following, which he uttered with loving tears: "Would they were a thousand fathers, for they would all have a harvest in the Filipinas." The Indians, too, who had never seen Ours in this province, were greatly rejoiced at their arrival – not only those already baptized, but even the infidels; and they gave proof of their good will in the hospitality which they showed towards our fathers, in imitation of their own fathers and ministers.

This was indeed a valuable reinforcement; for, combined with that of the year before, they made a sufficient force to begin the extension of the Society throughout the islands which were assigned to it as a province, and to care for the humble souls who begged for bread and had no one to give it to them. Father Ramon de Prado, who had succeeded to the office of vice-provincial, thus obtained people to employ in this work, conformably to his great zeal for the salvation of souls. How he did this we shall see later, each subject in its proper place. First, I will say that the facility with which many ministers of the Lord in the four religious orders learned the languages used in their respective missions, even so as to preach and hear confessions in them, seems a gift from heaven. The most tardy student of them, if he apply himself moderately, spends no more than six months; and one of Ours, Father Cosme de Flores, learned and mastered this language, so that he could

preach and hear confessions, in seventy-four days – to the astonishment of our people, as well as of the Indians themselves. The latter, seeing this facility, say that God, without doubt, bestows it upon us, recognizing their needs. In truth these languages are not very difficult, either to learn or to pronounce – and more especially now, since there is a grammar, a vocabulary, and many writings therein. The most difficult is the language of Manila (which they call Tagal) – which, I have already said, Father Martin Henriquez learned in three months; and in three more, he used it fluently. This was the first of the native languages that I learned, to which and to the others I shall profitably devote another chapter.⁶⁷

Of the Languages of the Filipinas. Chapter XV.

There is no single or general language of the Filipinas extending throughout the islands; but all of them, though there are many and different tongues, are so much alike that they may be learned and spoken in a short time. Consequently if one is learned, all are almost known. They are to each other like the Tuscan, Lombard, and Sicilian dialects of Italia, or the Castilian, Portuguese, and Galician in España. Only the language of the Negrillos is very different from the rest, as, in España, is the Vizcayan [*i.e.*, Basque]. There is not a different

⁶⁷ Various Philippine languages were studied and systematized by the first missionaries to the islands, although none of these works were printed, so far as is known, before 1610. Probably the earliest of these was a vocabulary of the language of the Cebú islanders, by Martin de Rada (who died in 1580). Other early Augustinians composed linguistic works as follows: Agustín de Alburquerque (died 1580) an *Arte*, or grammar, of the Tagal language; Diego Ochoa (died 1585), an *Arte* and vocabulary of the Pampango; Estéban Marín (died 1601), *Artes* of Igorrote and Zambal.

language for each of the islands, because some of them – as, for example, Manila, and even Panai, which is more than four hundred leguas smaller – contain several languages; and there are languages each of which prevails in several islands. In the island of Manila alone, there are six different tongues; in Panai, two; in some others, but one. The languages most used, and most widely spread, are the Tagal and the Bisayan; and in some regions of the Pintados another tongue is also prevalent, called Harayan. The Tagal embraces the greater part of the coast and interior of the islands of Manila, Mindoro, Luban, and some others. Bisaya is in use through all the islands of the Pintados, although in some of the villages therein the Harayan is spoken. Of all these languages, it was the Tagal which most pleased me and which I most admired. As I told the first bishop, and, afterwards, other persons of dignity in the islands and in Europe, I found in this language four qualities of the four greatest languages of the world, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and Spanish: it has the abstruseness and obscurity of the Hebrew; the articles and distinctions in proper as well as in common nouns, of the Greek; the fulness and elegance of the Latin; and the refinement, polish, and courtesy of the Spanish. Examples of all these characteristics may be seen in the “Ave Maria” done into Tagal; and, as that is a short prayer, and more easily understood than the others, I will place it here with its explanation in our vernacular, and with word-for-word equivalents. In this way may be seen the idioms and characteristic expressions of this language which will please some readers, and furnish information, both useful and curious.

The "Ave Maria" in the Tagal language

Aba Guinoo Maria matoa ca na.
Hail Lady Mary, joyful thou now,
 Napono ca nan gracia,
full thou of grace;
 An Panguinoon Dios na saio.
the Lord God is with thee
 Bucor can pinagpala sa babain lahat.
especially, thou blessed among women all.
 Pinagpala namàn ang iong anac si Jesus.
Blessed also he thy son Jesus.
 Santa Maria ina nang Dios
Holy Mary, mother of God,
 Ipana languin mo cami macasalanan
Let us be interceded for by thee, us sinners
 ngayon at cum mamatai cami. Amen, Jesus.
now and when shall die we.

The first word of this prayer *ABA*, is obscure, but apparently has the force of "salute," like the Latin *Ave*. *Bucor* expresses diversity, distinction, and singularity. The article is *Si* (Jesus), as *TON* in Greek. The richness of the language lies in its many synonyms and phrases; consequently this prayer, which, as it stands, is very elegant, could be formed with equal elegance in various other ways, without losing its original sense and meaning. The polish and courtesy consist in not saying, as in Latin, *Ave Maria* (which would seem in this language abrupt and barbaric), without adding that polite word, *Guinoo*.

There is none or very little of this courtesy in the other two languages of the Bissayas, which are more

rude and unpolished. I thought it good to present the same prayer in these languages, not only as a curiosity, but to give an idea of their similarity and differences – giving notice, however, that it is not my intention to offer an interpretation (which is unnecessary, since we all know the “Ave Maria”), but, as I said, to show the idioms of these languages. These idioms, moreover, ought not to displease or appear ignoble, for every tongue has its own beauty and elegance for those who are born in it, which the eyes of foreigners cannot discern. This point has been discussed by Jesus Sidrac in the prologue to his *Ecclesiasticus*, a holy and Catholic work; and it was proved at length, and with great erudition, by the most glorious doctor St. Jerome, in the hundred and first Epistle to Pamaquio.

The “Ave Maria” in the Harayan tongue

Maliag cao Maria nabota cao can gracia
Rejoice thou Mary, full thou of grace.
 An atun guinoon Dios dian canimo.
He our Lord God is with thee,
 Capin icao sa mañga babai ñga tanan,
fortunate thou among women all;
 ig capin naman ang imon bata ñga si Jesus.
and fortunate also he thy son Jesus.
 Santa Maria inang can Dios
[Holy Mary], mother of God,
 igampo mo cami ñga macasasala
let us be favored by thee, us the sinners,
 caraon, ig cum mamatai cami.
now and when shall die we.
 Amen, Jesus.

The "Ave Maria" in the Bissayan tongue

Maghimaya ca Maria naponon sa gracia

Rejoice, thou Mary, full thou of grace;

An guinoon Dios anaa canimo.

the Lord God is with thee.

Guirayeg ca uyamot sa babaihun tanan

Exalted thou much among women all,

ug guirayeg man an imon anac Jesus.

and exalted also he thy son Jesus.

Santa Maria inahan sa Dios,

Holy Mary, mother of God,

iguampo mo cami macasasala oña
let us be interceded for by thee, us sinners, now

ug sa amun camatai. Amen, Jesus.

and in our death.

It has been my object in giving this slight illustration of the difference between these three languages – aside from its singularity and novelty, which may furnish some pleasure – to make evident the ease and clearness of the languages and their words and pronunciations, which render them very easy, or at least not difficult to learn. Some of their idioms and transpositions, which are different from our own, must be accepted as they stand, as Father Joseph de Acosta says very well when writing on this matter, (*De procur. sal. lib. 4, cap. 9.*) ; but if they are once acquired, and one is accustomed to the sound of them, they do not render the language difficult, but rather make it easy and graceful. But since I have mentioned the courtesy and politeness of the Tagalos, and of their tongue, it will be well, before proceeding

further, to speak more at length concerning it, for it is so noble and pleasing a moral virtue.

Of the civilities, terms of courtesy, and good breeding among the Filipinos. Chapter XVI.

The Filipinos are not so ceremonious in their actions as are the Chinese and Japanese; yet they have their politeness and good breeding, especially the Tagalos, who are very civil and courteous in word and action. Upon meeting one another, they practice our custom of uncovering the head – not that they used hats, caps, or bonnets; but they wore a piece of cloth like a towel, some three or four palmos long, which they wound around the head in becoming fashion, like the ancient crowns or diadems. This they removed, as they now do the hat [*sombrero*] – which they have adopted, in imitation of us, abandoning the *potong*, as they called the towel or diadem which they formerly wore. As among them it is not courtesy to remain standing before a person whom they respect, they seat themselves upon the ground, or rather on their heel-bones. Seated in this way, with head uncovered and the *potong* thrown like a towel over the left shoulder, they talk with their superiors. The mode of salutation upon entering or meeting anyone is as follows: They draw the body together and make a low reverence, raising one or both hands to the face, and placing them upon the cheeks; they next sit down waiting for the question that may be put to them, for it is considered bad manners to speak before one is spoken to. Their greatest courtesy is in their form of address; for they never speak to one as “thou,” or in the second person, whether singular or plural, but always use the third person,

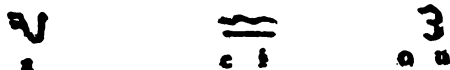
saying for example – “Does the lord, or the chief, wish for this or that?” There are many examples of this to be found in Holy Scripture or sacred language, and particularly in the Psalms. In the relations of man with woman, woman with man, or woman with woman, they are very careful – even when they are quite equals, and, too, among the middle class – to use, after every important word, nothing but “my Lord,” or “my Lady;” as, “My Lord, as I was coming up the river, I saw, my Lord,” etc. This term and pronoun are used as agreeable and even affectionate, even in the languages of much greater importance, as Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, which are the three most venerable tongues. In polite and affectionate intercourse they are very extravagant, addressing letters to each other in terms of elaborate and delicate expressions of affection, and neat turns of thought. As a result of this, they are much given to musical practice; and although the guitar that they use, called *cutyapi*, is not very ingenious or rich in tone, it is by no means disagreeable, and to them is most pleasing. They play it with such vivacity and skill that they seem to make human voices issue from its four metallic cords. We also have it on good authority that by merely playing these instruments they can, without opening their lips, communicate with one another, and make themselves perfectly understood – a thing unknown of any other nation. The Bissayans are more rustic and less civil in manners, just as their language is harsher and less polished. They have not so many terms of courtesy, as formerly they had no letters until, a very few years ago, they borrowed theirs from the Tagalos. As we have already treated of

their languages, it would be advisable to make some mention of their letters.

Of the Letters of the Filipinos. Chapter XVII.


All these islanders are much given to reading and writing, and there is hardly a man, and much less a woman, who does not read and write in the letters used in the island of Manila – which are entirely different from those of China, Japon, and India. This will be seen from its alphabet, which is as follows:

The three vowels serve as five, and are:



The consonants are only twelve, and in writing are used with the vowels in the following form.


The letter alone with no point above or below it, is pronounced with the vowel-sound A:




 Ba ca da ga ha la ma na pa sa ta ya



By placing the point above, each is pronounced with the vowel-sound E or I:


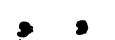

 bi qui di gui hi li mi ni pi fi ti yi
 be que de gue he le me ne pe fe te ye

By placing the point below, they are pronounced with the vowel-sound O or U:


 bo co do go ho lo mo no po so to yo
 bu cu du gu hu lu mu nu pu su tu yu

Consequently, to pronounce *cama*, two letters without points are sufficient:  

If a point is placed above the  we have  or *que-ma*.

If a point is placed below each character   the word is *co-mo*.

Final consonants are suppressed in all forms of expression: accordingly *cantar* is written

barba,   .

By means of these characters they easily make themselves understood and convey their ideas marvelously, he who reads supplying, with much skill and facility, the consonants which are lacking. From us they have adopted the habit of writing from left to right. Formerly they wrote from the top to the bottom, placing the first line on the left (if I remember aright), and continuing the rest at the right, contrary to the custom of the Chinese and Japanese – who, although they write from top to bottom, begin from the right and continue the page to the left.

They used to write on reeds and palm-leaves, using as a pen an iron point; now they write their own letters, as well as ours, with a sharpened quill, and, as we do, on paper. They have learned our language and its pronunciation, and write it even better than we do, for they are so clever that they learn anything with the greatest ease. I have had letters written by themselves in very handsome and fluent style. In Tigbauan I had in my school a very young boy, who, using as a model letters written to me in a very good

handwriting, learned in three months to write even better than I; and he copied for me important documents faithfully, exactly, and without errors. Let this, however, suffice for the matter of languages and letters, and let us return to our employment for souls.

Occurrences in Manila in the year fifteen hundred and ninety-six and fifteen hundred and ninety-seven. Chapter XVIII.

In the college we had begun, as I have said, to study the Latin grammar and moral theology. Each of these branches was begun in the usual way, with public academic exercises and learned discourses.* As it was the first event of that kind to take place in the islands, the exercises were received with great favor, and were attended and enjoyed by all the dignitaries, and prelates, and by a great concourse of other people. Divine worship, moreover, was notably increased upon the completion of the church — which, in its construction and unusual design, proved to be very beautiful. It was constructed on the model of the church of Jesus in our house of the professed

* Spanish, *actos solenes, i liciones de erudicion*. At Manila, in Chirino's time, there was only what is called *collegium inchoatum*; but in ordinary colleges of the Society, with a complete order of classes, it was the custom, at the *solemnis instauratio studiorum*, for the prefect of studies or the professor of rhetoric to inaugurate the year's work by delivering a "learned discourse," before the whole academic body; and to this function the appreciative public was invited. Sometimes the students gave a public exhibition of their work and proficiency. This "solemn act" might be a dramatic representation — an original play written for the occasion — or it might consist of literary exercises on the part of the scholars, music being also introduced. The technical name for these purely literary exercises was an "academy," or "specimen;" and naturally they would take place during the course of the scholastic year. Such was the custom of the age, in Spanish countries.—REV. E. I. DE VITT, S.J.

at Rome, although considerably inferior to that. This church was dedicated to the glorious St. Anne, the ceremony taking place on her feast-day in the year fifteen hundred and ninety-six, when an image of her was piously set up, and the most holy sacrament brought from the old church with great solemnity and devotion. The chapel of our Lady was placed, as in the church at Rome, on the gospel side; and in it her image was set up with an elegant reredos, in the devout presence of many Spaniards and Indians. In the other chapel, on the epistle side which is on the side next the house, and joined to the sacristy, were placed the holy relics, which at the instance of the Catholic king our lord, and the urgent request of Father Alonso Sanchez, were donated by the Apostolic See and had arrived in the previous year. The tabernacle in which these relics now repose had already been constructed and finished; it embraces the whole width of the chapel. It is of an incorruptible wood which they call in those parts molave.⁶⁶ It is adorned by eight columns, four on a side, grouped in a square, with base and pedestals which sustain, higher up, its architrave, frieze, and cornice, with finials and handsome architectural designs. Between the columns there are five distinctly-marked compartments, two small ones on each side and a large one in the center – all of them of like design and exquisite proportion, with finely carved doors and inlaid work, with cavities in which the holy relics are preserved with great propriety and honor. The color of the whole work externally is black – partly natural, on

⁶⁶ Molave is the name of a tree whose wood is very hard and highly valued for building purposes; it is called by the natives "the queen of woods." The name molave is applied to several species of *Vitex*, especially to *V. geniculata*, Bl.

account of the quantities of ebony that it contains, which is very abundant in those regions, and partly derived from the varnish which is used to imitate that wood. The mouldings, outlines, piñas,** and floriated are gilded, and there are other ornaments of gold and ivory. The altar is below, with its two steps at the height of the pedestals which support the columns. In the spaces between the columns, on both sides of the altar, were placed two images or statues of the glorious apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul; these are fastened in place by strong and curious locks and are covered with two pairs of curtains—one pair of gauze striped with silk and gold, the other of finest damask with embroidery and gold lace. Whenever these holy relics are exposed at their respective feast-days, the ceremony is conducted with great solemnity; and numbers of white candles are placed not only on the altar and steps, but all over the tabernacle from top to bottom, giving it dignity and distinction. On the twelfth of January of the year one thousand five hundred and ninety-seven, the holy relics were deposited there, with such rejoicings and festive show as had never been known before in the islands. In all this was seen how it was God who solicited hearts, and moved them to honor the glorious soldiers whom he had brought again for the defense and protection of the earth. They were borne in procession through the principal streets of the city, which, although handsome in themselves, were decorated so elegantly that their very elegance expressed the devotion of the people. They had erected at intervals arches (a dozen in all)—the greater number lofty, and with sculptured images;

** *Piña*: a silver design in the form of a pineapple.

the others of silk and thin stuffs, so ingeniously knotted together and adorned with various compositions and characters that they presented a very pleasing sight. They constructed with great skill several fountains, some of which gave forth water and others wine; two, in particular, issuing from a window, gave forth milk and Castilian wine, which were highly prized at that time in the islands. The relics were borne on six platforms, no less splendid than costly, since they carried nearly all the gold, precious stones, and jewelry of the city, which had been offered with much readiness and good will. Our Lord rewarded them for this, for there was not one accident, or a single piece lacking, of which there had previously been some fear, on account of the great gathering of all classes of people. As for the decoration of the church, the edifice itself, recently completed, was so beautiful and pleasing that it sufficed for adornment, although not so elaborate as the tabernacle. Its beauty was increased by elegant hangings of tapestry, and by many inscriptions – written by Ours in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Castilian, and Tagalo – extending in three rows along the great nave, besides others, corresponding to these, in various places. As I have said, the holy relics were borne on six platforms, resting on the shoulders of men, most of whom were religious, and in fourteen reliquaries, which were carried by as many religious; and dignitaries of the cathedral, clothed in their official robes, accompanied these. Add to this the salutes from the forts, and the standards of the confraternities carried in the van, and the effect was highly imposing. The festivities lasted nine days, each order celebrating its special feast, preaching and

saying mass with the greatest possible solemnity. The Augustinian fathers began the festivities, considering the occasion especially theirs on account of their long residence there. They assisted us by their good will and deeds, thereby showing themselves no less devoted to the holy relics than friendly to the Society. They conducted many kinds of music and dances, and besides these were many furnished by our Indians, and the Chinese and Japanese; all this variety produced most pleasing effects and greatly adorned and enlivened the festival. In this fashion the other religious orders celebrated their own days until the eighth, in succession, with great devotion, joy and edification on the part of the people. On the afternoon of the last day, as a conclusion to the fiesta, valuable prizes were distributed on the occasion of a literary contest, the announcement of which had been published some days before with much show and solemnity. In this contest many excellent and ingenious compositions of various kinds were delivered, to which prizes were awarded, after two exceedingly pleasing, dignified and impressive declamations had been recited in praise of the holy relics. Divine worship was also improved in the new church by the addition of some silver lamps, candlesticks, chalices, patines, wine-cruets, monstrances, and thuribles; many altar-hangings and chasubles, made not only from the silk and embroideries of that country, but from damask, velvet, and brocade brought from España and Italia, with printed borders; hangings heavily embroidered with seed pearls and thin silver plates; and various draperies, some of velvet and damask, others of colored taffeta. Besides all these things, there was the chapel of the singers, who with

voices and music of flutes and clarions, serve in the masses, vespers, and *Salves*, at least on the principal feast-days.

There was also begun at this time, through the devotion of Canon Diego de Leon (who was then attending the lectures in our schools), the practice of assembling in our church many men of all ranks to take the discipline,⁷⁰ three days in the week, especially during Lent – a practice which lasts to this very day. This same canon stimulated their piety on these occasions by a half hour's reading from some devout book. At the conclusion of the reading, the penance began, during which they repeated devoutly the *Miserere*. This holy exercise was a source of great edification to the Indians; and, in imitation of it, a great number of them took the discipline on those nights, in turn with the Spaniards.

Further proceedings at this time in Manila by the Indians and Spaniards. Chapter XIX.

At this time the Indians were very numerous, both within the city of Manila (where there are more than six thousand, scattered through the houses of the Spanish inhabitants) and in all the outlying districts. These people repair to our church for confession not only in Lent but on all other days of the year; consequently, there were not fathers enough acquainted with their language to care for them spiritually from morning to evening. I know of some who had waited for more than ten or even twelve days, without being

⁷⁰ i.e., to scourge themselves, as a voluntary penance – a practice then common among religious devotees. It was probably a survival from the earlier practices of the associations of Flagellants, who publicly scourged themselves, in penitential processions through the streets; they appeared during the period 1260-1420.

able, for the press of people, to reach the feet of the confessor. Others remained a whole day in the church, waiting for their turn. This gives evidence of the ardor and perseverance with which they attended to the welfare of their souls. On Sundays and the afternoons of feast-days, when the sermons were preached in their own language, the church was crowded – above, below, in the choir and galleries, all which, although very spacious, were filled; and, besides, there were many of those people outside the doors (which are five in number).

In two ways they were equally enthusiastic in celebrating the deposit of the holy relics: first, in the great devotion that they displayed during the whole eight days while the festival lasted and the relics were exposed – men, women, and children attending it in such numbers, both morning and afternoon, that they could not enter the church. The Spaniards, astonished at this, said that those holy relics must have come to Manila for the Indians, judging from the way in which the latter attended and venerated them. To show appreciation of their great devotion, and to inspire them with more, a short discourse, in their own language, was delivered to them every afternoon, preceding the *Salve* sung by the choir, and accompanied by the music of the wind-instruments. The second thing they did in the service of the holy relics was to institute a confraternity or congregation dedicated to those relics with the title and vocation of “all saints.” Their object was, each beginning with himself and his own spiritual profit, to strive with all their might for the welfare of their neighbors, by performing works of mercy, in both temporal and spiritual affairs, as their opportunities permit – in


which effort they exert themselves, by the grace of our Lord, with the advantages which we shall see later.

One of the best results is the modesty and virtue of the women, which we esteem in those regions, because it is but little practiced or valued among their heathen peoples. In many – I even believe, in all – of those islands there existed a doctrine, sowed by the devil, that a woman, whether married or single, could not be saved, who did not have some lover. They said that this man, in the other world, hastened to offer the woman his hand at the passage of a very perilous stream which had no other bridge than a very narrow beam, which must be traversed to reach the repose that they call *Calualhatian*.⁷¹

Consequently virginity was not recognized or esteemed among them; rather they considered it as a misfortune and humiliation. Married women, moreover, were not constrained by honor to remain faithful to their husbands, although the latter would resent the adultery, and hold it as a just cause for repudiating the wife. To illustrate this: Upon my arrival in the Filipinas, in the latter part of May in the year fifteen hundred and ninety, I had landed at the island of Marinduque (which is about twenty-eight or thirty leguas from Manila), at the time when an ensign with a squad of soldiers was going, through curiosity, to visit the interior of the island. Night overtaking him in this place, he was obliged to seek hospitality among the natives; there, one of the hospitalities which they bestowed on him and his companions was to offer him two women. These the good

⁷¹ Cf. the belief of the Winnebago Indians regarding the fate of departed souls (*Wisconsin Historical Collections*, xiii, p. 467).

ensign ordered to be sent back, and he pointed out the offense that they were committing against God, the almighty Creator of heaven and earth, whom all men should know and serve. He told them that for this purpose alone the Spaniards had come from so great a distance; and that they must not offend God by their evil example. It was thus that the good ensign conducted himself on that occasion. There have been others, who, recklessly following their own evil inclination, not only do not resist such solicitations, but, to the great scandal of this nation, seek and encourage sin. But God, who from evil produces good, has brought some of those women to fear Him; and they, esteeming purity as a heavenly thing and vice as a vile and repulsive abomination, have conquered some most fiery temptations, as will be seen from two or three incidents that occur to me. There was a Spaniard who held a mother and daughter so under his control that he was on the way to seducing the latter (who was a mere girl) by his blandishments and supplications, combined with harshness and threats. The mother, who was an infernal old hag, he gained by offerings and bribes. But the good daughter after seven whole months of such infamous and continuous attack, would not yield; and finally that wretch, wearied by so long a siege and vanquished by the constancy of a weak girl, withdrew and left her in peace. Which is indeed a good deal when we consider the following: One woman for twelve long years resisted the tempter, fortified by holy confession and communion. Another, although she resisted for a shorter time, showed even greater constancy; for the base and cruel seducer went so far as to aim a dagger against her breast twice; the third



time he went beyond threats, and fear did not restrain him, but he actually stabbed her. The wounded girl, who had first been stricken by the arrow of divine love, retained sufficient strength to leap down out of the house (as I have already said the dwelling is in the upper part), and thus her soul escaped injury.

For this very reason is the seminary for girls held in so high esteem which was founded in the islands by Governor Gomez Perez de las Mariñas, at the order of the Catholic king, at the instance of the first bishop, and through the zeal of Father Alonso Sanchez. It was established in the year fifteen hundred and ninety, when Captain Luis de Bivanco, factor of the royal exchequer, gave for this his houses. Later the seminary was transferred to the site which it now occupies, and a church was erected in honor of the virgin Saint Potenciana, patroness of Manila and of this holy seminary.

The good which has resulted to that colony from this institution is beyond exaggeration. Nearly a hundred young girls have retired to the protection of its walls, the greater part of them daughters of Spaniards — who, if they should go outside the seminary, would risk, and even achieve, setting the world on fire. The fathers of our college sometimes go to preach to them; and for my own part I can say that, whenever this duty fell to me, I did not fail to render praise to God at seeing there so many young women retired from the world, occupied in divine service and knowledge, and removed from the dangers and temptations without. Those among them who become established in matrimony give manifest token in their manners of the excellent education that they have received there, and the holy instruction upon which

their superior has taught and reared them. This seminary for girls owes a great deal to the archdeacon of Manila, Don Francisco Gomez de Arellano – who, not content with expending his wealth in other works of great service to God, occupies himself and spends a large share of his means in the protection and maintenance of this institution. At his own expense he constructed some of the inner apartments in the seminary's house, which were greatly needed, and in the church a large and beautiful reredos, of elaborate architecture; but, even more important, he has with his ministrations and instruction carefully cultivated those souls.

But to return to the Indians: two of them were rescued at that time, for which they had reason to be thankful; for, as they were Christians, the greater would be their loss and peril. One of them, who was twenty years old, had learned with great thoroughness a certain device of witchcraft; and yet during all this time, through some special providence of our Lord, had practiced it to no profit. It is certain, too, that if he had been successful he would have ruined himself and harmed many others. But I say no more of this, to avoid prolixity. Another Indian had a book containing certain verses of poetry, which they call *Golo*¹² – most pernicious, because they included an express compact with the devil; this its owner freely gave up, that it might be burned, which was done. Most of the prisoners in the jail are Indians, placed

¹² *Golo*: "the name of a charm for lovers, used by the ancient Tagals" (Blumentritt, *Dicc. mitológico*, p. 51). Regarding this book of charms, cf. Retana's *Libro de aniterias* (Madrid, 1894), which reproduces a similar book, obtained from a Filipino native, with explanations of such words and phrases as are intelligible; it is preceded by extracts from the *Practica* of Tomás Ortiz, O.S.A.

there for various crimes which they committed; and they also have their own separate hospital in the city (as also the Spaniards have one), where their sick are healed. Both hospitals are royal foundations, established by order and at the expense of his Majesty the Catholic king of blessed memory. To both Spaniards and natives Ours have ministered, in both these hospitals and in the prison, in order to aid all with the offices which, in such places, the Society is wont to exercise, for both bodies and souls.

At that time we began the religious exercises which those of our Society are wont to conduct in the plazas for the benefit of those, who through hindrances, carelessness, or impiety, fail to attend the sermons. The discourses were delivered in the Castilian language, in the principal plaza of Manila, beneath some of the principal buildings, which were then occupied (while the royal edifices were being finished) by the governor, Don Francisco Tello, his Majesty's representative. So much did he enjoy hearing the discourses, and the clever answers of some Spanish boys who before the preaching were catechized, as usual, in the Christian doctrine, that he threw down, from the balcony where he stood listening, to the boys a number of stamped images to reward them. This encouraged the boys to learn thoroughly, and become adept in these exercises, and inspired Ours to continue this holy practice, thus favored with such sincerity and benevolence; and those who beheld it were edified, and held us in greater esteem. Through these discourses and exercises the children, and even some adults, obtained a knowledge and understanding of the Christian doctrine; moreover, some were induced to lead better

lives, flee from temptation, and examine their own souls, and even some to enter the religious life.

What was accomplished in the villages of the encomienda of Taitai up to the year fifteen hundred and ninety-seven. Chapter XX.

We have already seen how the village called Taitai, the chief one of that encomienda, improved its location by removing from the marshes and overflow of the lagoon shore. This village had formerly dedicated its church to the glorious St. John the Baptist, and, upon its removal to the new site, in devotion to him the name San Juan del Monte ["St. John of the Mountain"] was given to it. It is a general custom, in all the mission villages in the Filipinas, for all the people to repair on Sundays and days of obligation to the church for the mass and sermon, before which the doctrine and catechism are recited. As a result of this, they not only have a thorough knowledge of the prayers, but even excel many peoples of Europe in their comprehension of the mysteries of our holy faith. To lighten the burdens of these people, that they might not weary of their constant attendance at church, for the doctrine, catechism, mass, and sermon – not to mention the frequent publication of the marriage banns, and the fact that mass is solemnly celebrated with music and the accompaniment of the organ, in which they spend many hours – we thought it best to reserve the doctrine and the catechism for Sundays in the afternoon, and even then not all the people were obliged to be present – part of them attending on one Sunday, part on another, and thus in rotation until the turn of the first ones came again. By such an arrangement this exercise is rendered

easier, and is even more profitable to the people, serving them upon such days as legitimate diversion, to which they all repair with greater inclination and pleasure. To this end a bell is rung at the hour of vespers, and the children go forth through the streets of the place, bearing the cross, and singing the doctrine, and then, followed by their elders, they return to the church. The adults, in the presence of the father, recite the prayers and catechism with great devotion and satisfaction, spending in all about half an hour. This done, they return to their homes. Mondays and Saturdays are likewise solemnized with masses, respectively for the deceased and in honor of our Lady, and are always attended by a certain number of people. The young men are especially directed to attend these services that they may continue to practice Christian habits; upon these occasions some short sermon is preached them in their own language. The children and old men are those who are under the strictest obligation to come to the church each day, at a certain hour, to learn the Christian doctrine—the children, always; the old men, until they have learned the doctrine. To each old man is assigned a boy, who instructs him and is careful to report how much the old man is learning; then, if the old man gives a good account of himself, he is privileged to cease his attendance, except with the rest of the people on Sundays. The bell tolls the “Ave Maria” at dawn, at noon, and at night; and, besides this, some one is careful to go through the streets at night, sounding a little bell, and in a loud voice admonishing the people to offer prayers for the souls in purgatory and for those who are in a state of sin. These, as well as other pious and devout cus-

toms, had been introduced into those villages. Three handsome churches were erected, and adorned with images, tapestry, and beautiful ornaments. We gained the good-will of those Indians to such a degree that, their opinion of us extending to their neighbors, even the savages who were hidden among the mountains came to us; and consequently those villages received much increase, as we shall soon see. There was one of these newcomers in particular, very appropriately named Saylor, which means "robber" (and truly he was such in his deeds), who was a savage in his mode of life; without house or dwelling, he lived among the mountains and in caves – even using as food, when he found no other game, the serpents that he killed. Although somewhat advanced in years, he possessed incredible agility in running and leaping, the natural disposition and propensity of savage wild beasts. The neighboring villages held this man in so great fear that, whenever he entered one of them, all the people fled from him as from a wild beast, believing him to be a violent madman; and by such compulsion he took, without any resistance, all that he desired from the houses. I saw this man, who unexpectedly came toward me of his own accord; he was naked, his only covering being a wretched breech-cloth; he wore in his girdle a dagger, and carried in his hands his bow and arrows. I caressed him, and tried to soften him with presents and gentle treatment, and this intercourse we continued for five or six years, with increasing confidence and satisfaction on his part. Consequently he maintained with us very intimate relations until, finally, Father Diego Garcia, who as we shall later see went to those regions as visitor in

the year fifteen hundred and ninety-seven, decided that it was time to grant him holy baptism. The father visitor himself bestowed this grace upon him, baptizing him with his own hands with great solemnity, and with demonstration of the grace and efficacy of this most divine sacrament. The name of Pablo was given to him, which from that time on he so highly prized that if at any time he was inadvertently called by his former nickname, he showed (although with a gracious and Christian spirit) regret and disdain equal to his pleasure and pride in the name of Christian. Accordingly he would answer to those who called him Saylor: "Not Saylor, but Pablo." After his baptism we married him; and he now dwells in his own home as the father of a family, with great discretion and tranquillity. He has become so tamed that we can say that he is one of the gentlest and most useful of all our Indians, and aids in our affairs with much fidelity and love. I spoke to him occasionally, with no small satisfaction, of his former savage life. He told me of the places in which he took refuge and spent the night, and of his hunting serpents - which, according to his statement (which was verified there), are of so great a size that they swallow men, deer, and other animals.⁷⁸ Before his baptism, when our acquaintance was but recent, he more than once offered to accompany me upon my journeys, carrying his dagger, bow, and arrows. We two journeyed alone through the mountains, he with great satisfaction in

⁷⁸ Evidently a reference to the serpents of the genus *Python*, allied to the boa-constrictor. They attain enormous size in the forests, some specimens having been obtained over twenty-two feet long. Young ones are often kept by the natives in their houses to kill the rats; these snakes become tame and harmless.

serving me, I with equal security and confidence in his good fellowship.

In this way, at the time when Father Francisco Almerique was here, not one man, as this one, but entire villages came in – the good father choosing their location, and helping them to erect the houses. In the village of Antipolo, in one year alone (either ninety-four or ninety-five), nearly a thousand souls arrived at the mission, more than five hundred of whom were baptized in that same year. They had come down from some very rugged mountains, far from there, where they had their houses and cultivated fields; but they neglected all these, out of love and esteem for our holy faith. No one remained in the mountains but a few catolones, for thus the priests of their idols are styled. As soon as this was ascertained, efforts were made that a person able to do so should remove them from that place, to suppress this cause of offense to those who were weak. This was done with much gentleness, and they were brought to us. Thereupon the good father, with his holy prudence and with the example of his righteous life, subdued their leader, whom the rest obeyed, and baptized them all. This leader said that the father's anito (thus they style their deities) was greater than those of other men, and for that reason they recognized him as superior. This pagan priest, while offering his infamous sacrifices, was possessed by the Devil who caused him to make most ugly grimaces; and he braided his hair, which for his particular calling he wore long, like that of a woman. But he, beginning (like the Magdalen) with his hair, cut it off publicly, and with it the power of the Devil, who held him captive; and receiving baptism, constrained

the others by his example to do the same, consigning his idols to the fire where they were consumed.

In this baptism of five hundred people, there were two old women whose conversion showed the special and admirable providence of our Lord. One of them, at least, showed an age of more than one hundred years; and both came down with the rest from the mountains, desiring holy baptism. Hardly had they received it when, leaving this mortal life (for they could no longer sustain the burden of so many years), they were renewed and bettered by the eternal life for which our Lord in his infinite mercy had preserved them during so many years.

The Tagalos, which is the name of the whitest and most civilized race of Manila, were not the only ones who descended from the mountains and from afar to range themselves alongside the sons of the new Jerusalem, that is, the holy church⁷⁴ – which multiplying in numbers, augmenting the joy at the sight of the vineyard of the Lord, and producing new plants, extends its shoots until it penetrates the sea and embraces and incorporates all its islands. After the men came the beasts of burden (namely, the Negrillos, who are more fierce, and dwell in the mountains) who came with outstretched hands to place themselves in those of their swift Angels, sent to succor this abject and ruined people. By this I mean that the Negrillos, of whom I have already spoken – who are the ancient inhabitants of some of these islands, including Manila, in which there are

⁷⁴ In the printed work, on the margin opposite this and the following sentences, are various references, thus: "Isaiah, 60; Isaiah, 9; Psalm 79; Isaiah, 66; Psalm 35, whereon 'B. Amb. Greg. II. moral. c. 2'" – the last apparently a reference to St. (and Pope) Gregory I's *Moralia in Jobum* (Basle, 1468?).

many of that race who live, as I said, in the mountains, merely like wild beasts – impressed by the example of the others, began to be peaceable and tame, and to prepare themselves for holy baptism. This, for those who are acquainted with their savageness and brutality, is wonderful beyond exaggeration. But this very brutal and barbarous nature renders them (a marvelous thing!) less incapable of our holy faith, and less averse to it – because in their state of pure savagery they have not, as I know from observation, any idolatries or superstitions, neither are they greatly averse to the gospel and baptism. The others – who to their own detriment and misfortune, are more civilized – abandon more regretfully their idols, ceremonies, priests, sacrifices, and superstitions; and, although they renounce them in holy baptism and are converted (vanquished by the light of Catholic truth), the vestiges of the evil which they have sucked from their mothers' breasts are not so easily forgotten as to unburden us, their teachers, of many cares. This was clearly seen that year in that very village of San Juan del Monte, where, although all the inhabitants had been baptized and included many good Christians, those same good Christians informed us of a fire of idolatry which in its great fury was burning up our harvests. In order that this may be better understood, it will be well first to give some account of their idolatries and superstitions in a separate chapter; and then we will relate what happened in Taitai and how it was remedied.

Concerning the false heathen religion, idolatries, and superstitions of the Filipinos. Chapter XXI.

Although upon entering into the dark abyss of

such blind idolatry I find a disorderly confusion of the vilest and most abominable things⁷⁵ worthy of its inventor, although in examining the walls within this infernal cave, I discover an infinitude of loathsome creatures, foul, obscene, truly damnable, it is my task, aided by the light of truth, to reduce them to order – so that we who upon opening our eyes find ourselves within the light of truth may offer praise to Almighty God, and have compassion for those who, blinded by their ignorance, love and prize these things of darkness, and cannot open their eyes to any light beyond. I shall speak first concerning the false belief that they hold concerning the divinity of their idols; second, of their priests and priestesses; third, and last, of their sacrifices and superstitions. Their art of writing was of no service to them in any one of these three things, or in matters of government and civilization (of which I shall perhaps later tell the little that I know); for they never used their writing except to exchange letters, as we have said. All their government and religion is founded on tradition, and on custom introduced by the Devil himself, who spoke to them through their idols and the ministers of these. They preserve it in songs, which they know by heart and learn when children, by hearing these sung when they are sailing or tilling their fields, when they are rejoicing and holding feasts, and especially, when they are mourning their dead. In these barbarous songs they relate the fabulous genealogies and vain deeds of their gods – among whom they set up one as the chief and superior of them all. This deity the Tagalos call *Bathala Mei capal*, which means “God the creator or maker;” the Bissayans

⁷⁵ In the margin of the printed page is a reference to Ezekiel, 8.

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The devil was gradually introducing into the village of San Juan del Monte [*i.e.*, Taytay] a great plague of idolatry (nourished by some ancient remains of heathenism which had clung to certain persons in that village), in the form which I shall relate.

In the town there was a band of worthless women, of the Catolonas [*i.e.*, priestesses] as we have said. These in secret maintained a tyrannical hold upon the village by various means and plots compelling many to repair to them upon every occasion, as they formerly did before they became Christians. Among these women, one who was a leader claimed that her anito was a very close friend of the anito of the Christians and had descended to the earth from heaven. This woman most stirred up the fire on account of the power that she wielded, not only on account of the sagacity which she certainly possessed, but by her influence and reputation in the village. Not only was she herself of high family, but she was very well connected; and had several sons who were married, and thus related to the most prominent families of the village. By these means she was, on the one hand, powerful enough to draw to her the weak, and on afterward Badla will descend, who will give health to the earth. Let the Baylanas [priests] dance, let the Baylanas dance about.”—
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the other, to compel the more influential to dissemble with her, and to refrain from betraying her for fear of exposing themselves to risk. Nevertheless, this woman and her following proceeded with great caution and secrecy and rigorously enjoined those who had relations with them to do the same. If any of those women died, she appointed an heir, and successor – to whom, after she had been accepted and received, her idol was brought in great silence by some chiefs, from the house of the dead person, in the middle of the night. Then they celebrated a feast during three continuous days, with banqueting and abundance of wine, which is their greatest solemnity. The idol of the chief priestess was made of gold, and she kept it in concealment, through the contrivance of the Devil (who through it held close communication with her), in a part of her house where it was most difficult to find it. It is estimated that for two years this secret pestilence had been going on, tyrannizing over the inhabitants to such a degree that there was hardly a sick person whom they did not attend with all diligence – persuading each one to demand urgently that they should cast lots to ascertain whether the sick man were to live or die, and, consequently, whether sacrifice should be offered to the anito for his health. We have already explained the manner of sacrifices and offerings they made, and the profit and gain which these infernal furies derived from them. There was one woman among them who cleared, in the short time that I have mentioned, almost three hundred escudos; but she did not enjoy them long, for God would not allow the conflagration to spread further. His Divine Majesty influenced some of his faithful ones, who, all aflame

with the greater conflagration of His honor and service, hastened to give account of what they heard and saw and knew of this matter. With the help of this information, beginning among the weaker members of the band, in a short time they succeeded in discovering those of secondary rank – and thus, step by step, they reached the chief priestess herself. Their second care (which they put into execution) was to take away from these people the idols, a great number of which were seized. Some of these were of clay, others of wood; and two, in particular, were made from two great teeth of the cayman, set in gold, in which metal the head of the anito was shaped at the point of the tooth. In neither the residence nor the country house of the head priestess, however, could her idol be found; nor could it be discovered by means of her, or by rummaging through her furniture and utensils, and searching often and most diligently; nor would she reveal it. This idol had promised her, so she said, that they should never find it, even if they should tear down and destroy the house; consequently, it enjoined her not to fear the father who was conducting this search, or any of his agents or helpers; for it was more powerful than any of them. But, as God is indeed more powerful, He influenced the faithful and zealous heart of Father Diego de Santiago – who was then instructing that village, and made these investigations at the instance and orders of the vicar-general and provisor of Manila – to decide that he would not relax or give up the search for this demon until he should find it. Being quite certain that it was in the house (although he had already searched there for it several times), he returned for the last time with the determination

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afterward Badla will descend, who will give health to the earth. Let the Baylanas [priests] dance, let the Baylanas dance about.”—
PABLO PASTELLS, S.J.

province of the Pintados. The inhabitants are honest, simple, and intelligent, and possess among other good and laudable customs two in particular, which are common to all the neighboring islands. The first is, that they have no need, in journeys upon land or sea, of stores or wallets; to whatever place they come, they are sure of being welcomed, sheltered, and offered food. The second is that, whether their harvests be good or bad, they never raise or lower the price of rice among themselves, which they always sell to one another at a fixed rate. They practice these two customs through the friendly relation that exists among them, such as the apostle sought from his Corinthians.⁴⁴ To the two residences that were in that island (one in Dulac, and the other in Carigara) there were added, with the new reënforcement of laborers, three others – in Paloc, Alangalan, and Ogmuc. As each one of these is still new, we shall not have as much to say about them at present as later on; for as the number of Christians increased so did the number of notable facts and events worthy of record. Nevertheless, I shall not omit to mention here each one of those stations separately; in general, however, I may say that during the first two years a great number of Christians were made throughout the island, considering that Ours were preparing them very gradually, as being so new a people, for the faith, and for acquaintance and intercourse with us.

*What was accomplished in Dulac and its territory.
Chapter XXV.*

Father Alonso de Humanes and Father Juan del

⁴⁴ A marginal note in the printed work cites II Corinthians, 8.

Campo were the first to instruct the dwellers in and about Dulac. Father Alonso de Humanes was sent to Sebu, by Father Antonio Sedeño, as superior of our Society in the island of Leite; and arriving at Carigara (which is the first of the missions), he left there as superior his companion, Father Mateo Sanchez, and taking with him Father Juan del Campo, who had been superior in Carigara, proceeded with him to Dulac. Father Alonso de Humanes held Father Juan del Campo in the highest estimation as a spiritual and eloquent man, fervent, learned, and talented, and very sagacious in practical affairs; for these reasons he laid hold of him for greater help and companionship. He remained with him, however, only for a short time; for they soon sent him to Mindanao, as we shall later see. In the time that they spent together, they erected the first church in Dulac; established a school for children, many of whom they baptized; and formed a long list of catechumens, whom they prepared and baptized, with great solemnity and rejoicing, to the increase of reverence for this holy sacrament. Besides this, Father Juan del Campo, traveling throughout that district, gained the good-will of all those villages and marvelously influenced them to receive our holy faith. They went forth from his hands such model Christians that those who before baptism were fierce, rude, and intractable, you would see today, after baptism, tractable, gentle, pliant, and loving; they are now wholly freed from error, and feel a horror of their idols and former vices, and extreme love and affection for Jesus Christ our Lord, and for His mysteries. Children so small that they could hardly yet speak, gave such a good account of the Christian doctrine that

they seemed to have been born instructed. Those who two days before had not known or heard of Him now repeated with pleasure and gentleness, "May Jesus Christ be praised;" and, indeed, it all seemed to be His work, and wrought through His instrumentality.

*What took place in Carigara in those early days.
Chapter XXVI.*

As we have already said, the post at Carigara was the first where the Society began the mission villages of this province; and it was there that we said the first mass, and celebrated the first feast with great solemnity in honor of the holy cross. There, too, occurred the first baptism, when with my own hands (although unworthy), as a beginning to this new Christian community, I baptized a goodly number of children already capable of reason. At all the services of this feast there was a great concourse from the whole district who solemnized it, beginning the night before, with mirth, rejoicing, and games. Afterward, Father Juan del Campo and Father Cosme de Flores began to instruct some of the older persons in the Christian faith. At that time, and through that exercise, those two fathers learned the language of the natives in a very short time – especially Father Cosme, who spoke it with masterly skill. Father Juan del Campo departed from Dulac, and leaving in his stead, Father Mateo, both pursued their task of winning souls for Jesus Christ, His Divine Majesty so attracting the people that soon in Carigara a very flourishing Christian church began to appear. Although there are many notable things which might be related about it, I shall refer

only to two baptisms which seemed, to us who were there, worthy of consideration.

The first was that of a child of five years, who filled with the fervor of heaven came to us from his village for the sole purpose of asking baptism. His infidel mother and stepfather, upon learning this, at the instigation of the Devil (who unwillingly relinquished that booty) came after him with an infernal fury, to carry him back with them – by force, if necessary. But as they could not do this, out of respect to the fathers, they tried to impede him through others – their relatives, friends and acquaintances; and, adding persuasion to threats (and, for a child so tender in years, but little effort sufficed), they used all their energies to divert and dissuade him from his holy purpose. But God our Lord, who gave him a man's strength – and, in giving it to him, made him all the stronger by adding a gentle force to his own tender will, caused him to persevere with such constancy that he finally overcame these influences, saying that he desired to be a son of God, since those who were not Christians were slaves of the Devil. He offered other arguments, so ingenious that they compelled those who were present to defend and aid him; and earnestly reproving those who unreasonably opposed him, he constrained them to leave him in peace. Thus he departed with his request granted, and with holy baptism, with a satisfaction that words cannot express, and greater than might be expected from a much older person and a more developed reason. Again, a woman of rank had refused and fled from baptism against the influences of God and our own persuasions – solely concerned with the insolubility of matrimony taught by our holy law; for

she maintained that it was hard that she could not abandon a husband who displeased her, as was the custom among them. Finally one of her brothers, who was seeking holy baptism, persuaded her to accompany him, and so she did; but, when on the point of receiving the sacrament, she withdrew without it, although her brother was baptized. This weakness was a source to her of great confusion and remorse, and consequently of renewed energy and effort (as it was with the pope St. Marcellinus⁸⁵); for on the following day she returned to the church pierced with remorse for the wrong that she had done, confessing herself to be foolish and lacking in sense, and admitting that her withdrawal had been caused by silly fear. She told the father that she was deeply grieved at what she had done, and besought him, that, since now she had returned meek and submissive to all the mandates of the holy gospel law, she might be granted holy baptism – which she ardently desired, knowing that without being a Christian she could not be saved. Finally, after giving us satisfactory pledges as to her desire and perseverance, she was accorded holy baptism, which she received with great devotion and joy.

What took place in Paloc and its coast. Chapter XXVII.

Until September or October of the year fifteen hundred and ninety-six, when Father Christoval Ximenez went to reside in Paloc – where he learned the language well, and gathered much fruit, as we shall later see – that village possessed not one perma-

⁸⁵ St. Marcellinus, the thirtieth of the Roman pontiffs, was elected in 296 A. D., and died in 304.

nent priest; only Father Mateo Sanchez, accompanied by a brother, rendered them timely aid in some journeys which he made from Carigara. This station lies between Carigara and Dulac, on the banks of a beautiful river, and is distant from the sea about a half a league inland. It is surrounded by many villages, having a large population; and all those natives are very good people. Here I received a most cordial welcome when I visited those stations, the year before, with Father Antonio Pereira; the people entertained me by their friendly conversation, were delighted in hearing the things of God, and asked me many intelligent questions about them. But there must have been some ministers of the Devil among them, who (as they lose through our holy faith their prestige and vile gains) had perverted this people, as I believe, in such a way that the next time Ours visited them they were not only churlishly received, but there was hardly one person to greet them, to speak either good or evil. For they found that the people had fled inland, and the few who remained in their houses looked upon the fathers with such coldness and aversion that they were compelled to turn their eyes toward God, and await from His divine hand consolation for being thus afflicted and deserted. This His divine clemency soon accorded them, changing the aspect of affairs, and causing us to know that only His power can conquer hearts; and He so subdued theirs that the very persons who had fled desired us again, in a few days, and complained that we visited them but seldom. When our fathers did repair to them, they would not let them depart at once, maintaining that they did not tarry long enough. Some of them sought with great

earnestness and fervor holy baptism, and the Christians adopted the Christian mode of life with love, ardor, and satisfaction. Accordingly, they could be seen at prayer, both morning and evening, repeating the sermons, and chanting the doctrine in their houses and fields and boats (when they are traveling in these, they carry a little bell to ring for the Ave Marias). They were very careful in attending church, and devout in confessing, especially during that first Lent; and showed great fervor in disciplining themselves, particularly during Holy Week; in the procession on that occasion there were many who scourged themselves until the blood came, and still others accompanied them, bearing four hundred lights, all preserving great silence and order. It was learned in many individual cases, that God our Lord chose very opportunely to influence them through various means to receive His holy faith, and afterward to confirm them in it, by marvelous and supernatural visions, of things both good and bad, and causing both joy and terror – miraculously healing, for example, many who lay at the point of death, and bestowing special inward inspirations. One of these Christians passed in front of a house where a minister of the Devil was offering to the demon his abominable sacrifice; and this very demon told him to prevent that Christian from entering; “for,” he said, “I am afraid of those Christians.” How could those who heard this refrain from following that powerful God, when they saw that he whom they considered as such feared not only Him, but also, on account of their being Christians, those who formerly feared and worshiped him? A sick woman, in an exhausted condition, offered herself to God, in her desire for

health, and leaving her bed was carried near some images. God our Lord coöperated with her faith in such a way that soon she was healed; and she made it public that the holy images had cured her. In a village near that one, there was a sick woman, very aged, who was so obstinate in her infidelity that she would not be softened by the persuasions of the father who visited her. A child who accompanied him took her hand, and described to her in vivid language the torments of hell, and so impressed her that she asked him: "Dost thou know this?" The child responded: "Yes, for God has said it, and so I believe it." With this he subdued her, and prepared her so that, after she better understood the catechism, she could receive after it holy baptism, and, at the same time, health of body and soul.

Of the Residence of Alangalang. Chapter XXVIII.

This station lies in the interior of the island of Leite, five leguas distant from Carigara. Its district is well inhabited, and has the advantage of a good soil. Its distance, however, was so great that it could not well be visited from Carigara, especially considering the number of its population. On this account, and as, in the allotment of the fourteen [new laborers], only one was assigned to Carigara (namely, Father Francisco de Enzinas), the latter was obliged to remain there in company with Father Mateo Sanchez; and Father Cosme de Flores had to go to establish the Christian faith in Alangalang, on account of his knowledge of the language, and the esteem and affection in which he was held by the Indians. The first care of this blessed father was to bring together, with great gentleness and kindness,

the inhabitants of all those villages, especially those who were most remote and could be less easily assisted to reaching that station – so that a large colony might be formed there, as was done. He was establishing his church, his house, and his school among them, and beginning a Christian community, when it pleased our Lord to take him unto Himself, leaving his Indians orphans, disconsolate, and alone. Thus they remained for several months, for there was at the time no one who could supply their need except a brother who had accompanied the father; and he consoled them by teaching them – but without administering the sacraments, as he was a lay-brother. The fathers at Carigara could not help them, being prevented by their own occupations.

Of the entrance into Ogmuc. Chapter XXIX.

The station of Ogmuc lies on the shore of the sea, in the southern part of the island of Leite, on the coast almost directly opposite to Carigara, which is in the northern part. It has in the same island a very good vicinity, as well as three smaller islands adjacent, which they call Polo. All those people are friendly and docile and received Ours with much affection and pleasure. This post was assigned to Father Alonso Rodriguez with another companion; and it seems that the gentleness and kindness of this father had its influence upon the Indians even before they saw him as also later when they met and knew him. Their governor and other persons came out to sea to receive him, with much joy; and the chief, without delay, made arrangements on the spot for his conversion, and wrote out the prayers, that he might learn them. The rest followed his example,

and not only in this matter, but in at once offering all their children, with whom the father formed a very promising school. Some of the youngest children were exceedingly bright; and it was indeed a marvel to see the mass served, with grace and address, by a child who was scarce able to move the missal. Many of these children also helped us greatly in catechizing and instructing their elders and in preparing them, and even urging them, to receive holy baptism. This was done by a little child of only four years, who seeing his father somewhat lukewarm in this respect, urged and incited him with such energy that he aroused the father, and caused him to entreat us urgently for baptism. They not only fulfilled this office with their parents but even interceded with us in their behalf, urging that we should not delay granting this favor. An incident befell one of these children which in its very childishness gave token of the esteem with which our holy gospel faith takes root in these tender little hearts. He found himself among some heathens who were eating meat on a Friday, and, without thought of wrong, began to eat with them. Upon taking the first mouthful he was reminded of the day; and, spitting it out, descended from the house and came in haste to Ours in great sorrow at having committed a sin. Our fathers reassured him and sent him away consoled; and were themselves greatly edified and pleased at such a specimen of Christian faith, although so young and so recently planted. Nearly all of those people were converted to Christianity without much difficulty; but there was one man who was much troubled on account of having three wives – all, like himself, of high rank. Although the

thought of renouncing two of them was painful to him, his greatest consideration was the dowry which he must thus lose. The good father saw his predicament, and was greatly concerned lest this man, for a slight temporal interest, might lose eternal gain. Inspired by God our Lord, he formed a plan, and went to talk with the woman who was most beloved by the man, hoping to persuade her to receive baptism. Much persuasion, however, was not necessary; for she herself desired it, and expressed herself to that effect – adding that, even though it should displease her husband, she would begin the task; and that, instead of returning to his house, she would go directly to that of a Christian woman, who should instruct and prepare her for baptism. These sentiments she expressed privately not only to the father, but even to her husband, before many other persons. As she said, so she acted; and her solemn baptism was celebrated with many feasts, dances, and rejoicings. The husband seeing this, put away the other two wives, giving them the amounts of their dowry; and, freed from this obstacle, received baptism and was married in Christian fashion. On the feast-day of the glorious resurrection of Christ our Lord, we celebrated the baptism of this man and eleven other chiefs, who were also baptized amid great festivities and rejoicing, and with the concourse of many people.

I have thus given an account of what took place in the five stations in that island of Leite. Before we pass on to the rest, it will be fitting to explain, as far as we can, their usages in marriage and divorce – as well to make more intelligible what we have already related as to have a better understanding of a

topic which in the course of our remaining narrative must frequently arise.

Of marriages, dowries, and divorces among the Filipinos. Chapter XXX.

I had lived in the Filipinas for almost ten years before I learned that there was any man who had married several wives; and I did not know it until I went to the islands of Ibabao and Leite, for in Manila, Mindoro, Marinduque, and Panai, I had not observed the practice of such a custom. I had, however, been once told by a Spaniard that in a certain part of Mindanao, toward Dapitan, it was the custom for the Bissayan women (the inhabitants of Mindanao also are Bissayans) to marry two husbands; the practice of having several wives I had understood to belong only to the Mahometans who dwell in Mindanao and Burnei. It is certainly, however, not a general custom in the Filipinas to marry more than one wife; and even in the districts where this is done the practice is by no means general. The most common and general usage is to marry one woman. The Bissayans always try to procure a wife from their own class, and closely connected with them in relationship. The Tagalos do not insist so much on this latter point: they are satisfied if the wife be not of inferior rank. As I have already stated, in neither race is any other impediment considered than the first degree of kindred. Uncle and niece marry as readily as do first cousins; but brother and sister, grandfather and granddaughter, or father and daughter, can in no case marry. There is a marked distinction between concubinage and wedlock; because the latter, besides consent, has its own cere-

monies, as we shall later see. For marriage, moreover, they have distinct formalities of betrothal, which are accompanied by conventional penalties, most rigorously executed. Here is an example: Si Apai promises to marry Cai Polosin; these married persons make an agreement with another married pair, while the wives are with child, that if the wombs of their respective wives should bear a male and a female those two children shall be joined in marriage, under a penalty of ten gold taes. This compact is solemnized by a feast, where they eat, drink, and become intoxicated; and he who later is the occasion of breaking the compact must pay the penalty. This is betrothal. In the marriage there figures a dowry, and the surrender of the woman, with consent for the present, but not perpetual. It is not the wife, but the husband, who gives her the dowry—an amount agreed upon, and fixed in accordance with his means. This is what some authors^{**} relate of various nations, which were accustomed to purchase women as their wives. In addition to the dowry the husband is wont to make some presents to the parents and relatives—more or less, according to his means. While I was in Tigbauan the chief of the island of Cuyo came to marry his son to the daughter of Tarabucon, chief of Oton, which is close by the town of Arebalo and a mission-village under the fathers of St. Augustine. They were married by a minister of high standing in

^{**} The following references appear on the margin of the printed page: Boethius, *Topica* (Tolentino, 1484), book 2. Andreas Tiraquellus, *Ex commentariis in Pictonum cōsuetudines, sectio De legibus connubialibus* (Parisis, 1513), law 4. Francisco Ribera, *In librum duodecim prophetarum commentarii* (Salmanticae, 1587), Hosea, 3.

that order, named Father Pedro de Lara,⁸⁷ who was then vicar of that convent. From him and from another religious of the same house I learned that besides the dowry (which was very large), and a generous offering sent to the convent, the husband bestowed, in his grandeur and munificence, presents upon the parents of the bride, her brothers and relations, and even upon the numerous slaves. The marriage lasted no longer than did peace between them; for they are divorced on the slightest occasion. If the cause of the divorce is unjust, and the man parts from his wife, he loses the dowry; if it is she who leaves him, she must restore the dowry to him. But if the man has just cause for divorce, and leaves her, his dowry must be restored to him; if in such case the wife leaves him, she retains the dowry. For the husband, the adultery of his wife is sufficient ground for divorce; for the woman, just cause for divorce is more limited. In case of divorce, the children are divided equally between the two, without distinction of sex; thus, if they are two in number, one falls to the father and one to the mother; and in a state of slavery the same thing occurs when husband and wife belong to different masters. If two persons own one slave, the same division is made; for half belongs to each, and his services belong to both alike. These same modes of marriage and divorce are in use among those who marry two or three wives. The man is not obliged to marry them all in one day; and, even after having one wife for many years, he may take another, and yet another – indeed, like the Mahometans, as many as he can support. I believe that this evil cus-

⁸⁷ Pérez (p. 44) only records the various churches served by this father, from 1596 to 1607, and his death in the latter year.

tom in the islands of Mindanao and Leite has been derived from that sect; for they are increasing throughout the world, propagating their cursed doctrine with as much zeal and concern as we do our holy faith. It had taken root in Burnei before we took possession of the Filipinas; and from that island they had come to preach it in Manila, where they had begun to teach it publicly when our people arrived and tore it up by the roots. Less than fourteen years ago it was introduced into Mindanao, on this side of the island, which is no small reason for sorrow and regret. While the marriage-bond lasts, the husband is, as with us, the lord of all; or, at least, all the wealth is kept together, and both parties endeavor to increase it as much as they can – although they are wont to steal from each other for their own purposes.

Of the island of Ibabao, and how the Society entered it. Chapter XXXI.

It is this island which first gives joy to the vessels which sail hence for the Filipinas; for it is the first land descried in our passage westward. A headland on its coast is the celebrated cape of Espiritu Santo, which we sight on arriving at the islands, and for which we sought. With this island on the left, and the great island of Manila on the right, we enter directly the Filipinas Islands, leaving the islands of the Ladrões three hundred leguas behind. It also forms with the island of Leite, which lies south of it, a very narrow strait, through which a few ships have penetrated – especially those which under stress of weather, and driven back by the force of the storms, have been compelled to take refuge in the port of



Cebu. The island is large and populous, and all around it are many adjacent islands, also inhabited. All its people are generally regarded as very peaceable, and they have made an excellent beginning in receiving the gospel, the chiefs being most distinguished in this regard – which is a matter of considerable importance, as they open the way for the others by their example. The first one of the Society to enter that island for instruction was Father Francisco de Otaço, who went thither with two companions. Although in the beginning hardships did not fail them, through their lack of material resources, they were so well provided with those that were spiritual that one could well recompense the other. They arrived on the western side of the island, which is eastward of the archipelago, at a village called Tinagon,⁸⁸ without any fixed or chosen post, and arrived there very opportunely for their purpose since at that time a plague, communicated from other districts, prevailed in that part of the island, causing the death of many people. Accordingly, they at once set about their task, and labored diligently, going from house to house, and from one sick person to another, teaching and baptizing. But the unexpected results lightened their toil; for the number of those who were thoroughly prepared for and received baptism was very great, and the number of baptized persons who died from the disease reached a thousand souls. Besides the church of this central station which was recently built, six other churches were erected in that district, not far distant from it. In each one of them was a school with a goodly num-

⁸⁸ Apparently at the point of Tinagoan, on Buad Island, off the western coast of Samar.

ber of children, and a master to instruct them; and the pupils were so devoted to it that the threat that had most effect on them was to say their teacher would leave them. Our fathers went through those villages, visiting the sick and aiding them, as well as they could, with remedies for both body and soul. In the course of these visitations an incident occurred which well exhibits the forbearance with which God awaits our conversion, the ease with which we find Him when we seek Him, and the patience and perseverance which a minister of the gospel needs in teaching, convincing, entreating, urging, and waiting for the conversion of a soul. One of the fathers had been visiting the sick of a certain village, and was on his way homeward, some distance away, to partake of a little nourishment and obtain repose, as night was closing in. Turning his eyes to one side he descried a wretched house which he did not remember to have visited that day. To satisfy himself of this he mounted a few steps of the ladder, and looking from the door into the interior of the house beheld a man stretched upon the floor. Upon approaching he found him motionless and almost dead, but with enough consciousness to answer "No" to the father's query if he desired baptism. The father remained with him a long time, seeking to convince him. Finally, seeing how little this availed, and that the hour was late, he concluded to leave him. But grief at seeing that soul lost, and the secret strength which our Lord gave him, constrained him to wait, and to persist in urging the sick man — an action so opportune that the latter at last said "Yes," and listened to the short instruction which is wont to be given upon such occasions. Thus, in sorrow for his

sins, he expired immediately after baptism, with an "Oh, God!" on his lips, torn from his very heart.

One of the islands adjacent to Ibabao is Maripipi, whose inhabitants were all baptized in one day in the following fashion. This island is three leguas distant by sea from Ibabao, for which reason our fathers could not visit it as often as the people desired. Seeing this, its inhabitants all resolved to embark in their boats and come themselves to seek holy baptism. The chiefs disembarked at Tinagon, and, after them, all their followers with their wives and children, all of them eagerly seeking the sacrament; but the father told them, through a chief who acted as spokesman, that they must first learn the doctrine, and that when they understood it he would baptize them. The chief's only answer was to recite the doctrine, after which he said that he had learned it from the others. With the evidence of such faith and good disposition, the father baptized them all; and, satisfied and joyful, they embarked again for their island.

Some months later, Father Miguel Gomez was sent from the college of Sebu in order to ascertain the disposition of the inhabitants of the eastern part of the island for receiving our holy faith; he found them so well inclined that, erecting a church in a village called Catubig, not far from the cape of Espiritu Santo, he converted many of that district to Christianity; indeed, whole villages of that island came to him, and even many from islands lying adjacent to it in that broad sea. He was particularly astonished at one of the chiefs of Catubig, a man who lived, under the natural law, without blame and had good principles, one of which was to abominate polygamy.

This chief was exceedingly pleased at hearing the catechism, and, requesting holy baptism, for this purpose cut off his own hair, which is esteemed as much among those people as among the Chinese. There was another, a sick old man, who, before he saw our fathers, learning that they were in that place, sent to request holy baptism, which he afterward most devoutly received. In this mission many special incidents occurred which gave evidence that this harvest was fully ripe to be gathered for Christ; but, as it was not quite ready for the reaping,⁸⁹ and the father was needed in his own college whence he had departed, he was obliged to return to it, with this good news of his journey. These villages, with their new Christians, were assigned to the fathers of Tinagon, who ministered to them so far as they could, until more suitable provision could be made for them by sending a father who could more readily assist them; this has not yet been done, through lack of workers.

Of the island of Bohol, and the entry of the Society therein. Chapter XXXII.

Bohol is one of the smaller islands of the Filipinas, but is actually large and populous, inhabited by a people of lighter complexion, and generally more comely, than are the other Bissayans. They are a race of such spirit and valor that they have spread through many neighboring islands, where their descendants still preserve the name of Boholans of which they are very proud – just as we, when in foreign kingdoms, are proud of the name of Spaniards. The island is rich in mines and placers of gold, and abundantly provided with game, fish, rice,

⁸⁹ In the margin is a reference to II Timothy, 4.

sugar-cane, palms, and other kinds of food. In the year one thousand five hundred and sixty-four, the adelantado Miguel Lopez de Legazpi arrived there with his fleet – entering through the channel which they call El Frayle [“The Friar”] – when, as we have stated, he set out from Nueva España in quest of those islands. A chief of that island, named Catunao – whom our fathers have now baptized, as we shall soon relate – gave information to Miguel Lopez of Sebu (which is six leguas distant from Bohol), and, accompanying him thither as a guide, was of great assistance to him in the reduction of the island. It was the good fortune of Father Juan de Torres and Father Gabriel Sanchez to instruct this people, for they were the first preachers of Jesus Christ in Bohol. They entered the island with much confidence and consolation, on learning that its people, like those in the neighboring island of Sebu, did not practice polygamy – an affliction which to the fathers in Ibabao and Leite was a source of great sorrow, since they found in this evil custom a serious impediment to the conversion of many who were not otherwise hindered from receiving holy baptism. Not only were the Boholans free from this, but none of their immoral practices (for they had others) could hinder their conversion; for all at once they abandoned all of these, together with their idolatry. Those fathers wrote to us concerning two in particular, of which – although they are not peculiar to the people of that island, but are general among all the others – I desire to give an account for the better understanding and greater clearness of this narrative; one relates to their dead, and their mode of shrouding and burying them; the other, to their feasts, festivals, and drunken

revels. I shall speak of the general practices in both, beginning with the first.

The manner which the Filipinas had of shrouding and burying their dead. Chapter XXXIII.

The first and last concern of the Filipinos in cases of sickness was, as we have stated, to offer some sacrifice to their anitos, or divatas, which were their gods. These sacrifices were offered, as we have said, with dancing to the sound of a bell; and it would happen, as I have sometimes heard, that in the most furious part of the dance and the bell-ringing, when the catolona or bailana was exerting most force, all at once she stopped at the death of the sick person. After the death there followed new music, the dirges and lamentations, which were also sung, accompanied by weeping, not only by the mourners but by others – the former on account of their sorrow and grief; the latter for their wages and profit, for they were hired for this purpose, as is and has been the custom among other nations of greater reputation. To the sound of this sad music they washed the body of the dead person, perfuming it with the gum of the storax-tree and other aromatics which they are wont to use, and clothing it in the best garments which the dead man possessed; then, after having kept and mourned over it for three days, they buried it. Others anointed the body with aromatic balsams which prevent corruption, especially with the juice of a sort of ivy which grows there abundantly, and is truly a very valuable drug, which they call *buyo*.⁹⁰ It is very pungent, and

⁹⁰ *Piper betel*; the method of using it as a stimulant is described in VOL. IV, p. 222. The *coca* to which the betel-nut is here compared is the dried leaf of a Peruvian shrub (*Erythroxylon coca*),

for the living is a notable stimulant, also strengthening the teeth, hardening the gums, and sweetening the breath. Consequently both Spaniards and Indians make much use of it, and always carry it in their mouth, as they use the coca in Piru. With the juice of this plant, then, they anointed the dead body, and so injected it through the mouth that it penetrated the whole body. Thus prepared, many bodies have been found uncorrupted after a lapse of many years; but they did not place the corpses in the earth, but in their dwellings, enclosed in coffins of the hardest wood, incorruptible, and with the cover so fitted that it was impossible for the air to enter. Moreover, they placed gold in the mouths of the corpses, and laid with them many articles of value; and thus they buried them, under the house, richly adorned, and with the corpse another chest, containing garments. Besides this, they usually were careful to carry to the burial various viands, which they left there for the dead person. In former times, they would not let them depart to the other world alone, but gave male and female slaves to accompany the dead. These slaves, having first eaten a hearty meal, were then immediately killed, that they might go with the dead man. It once happened that they buried with a chief a vessel manned by many rowers, who were to serve him in his voyages in the other world. The usual place of burial was the dead man's own house, at least in the lower part – where a great pit was dug, in which the coffin was placed. A small railing was constructed about the pit, and, leaving it open, they placed inside the food which they brought. Others of stimulant and tonic qualities. From it is obtained the well-known anæsthetic cocaine.

buried their bodies in the open field, and for several days burned fires beneath their houses and set guards, so that the dead man might not return and carry away with him those whom he had left.

After the burial the mourning ceased, but not the feasting and intoxication, which lasted more or less time according to the rank of the deceased. The widow or widower, and the orphans and other relatives who felt most keenly their grief, expressed their sorrow by fasting, abstaining from meat, fish, and other viands – eating during this period only vegetables, and those in very small quantities. Among the Tagalos the color for mourning is black, and among the Bisayans white. The latter also tear out their hair and eyebrows, which makes them ugly indeed. Upon the death of a chief, silence must be observed in the village during the period of mourning, until the interdict was raised – a longer or shorter time, according to his rank; and during that time no sound of a blow or other noise might be heard in any house under penalty of some misfortune. In order to secure this quiet, the villages on the coast placed a sign on the banks of the river, giving notice that no one might travel on that stream, or enter or leave it, under penalty of death – which they forcibly inflicted, with the utmost cruelty, upon whomsoever should break this silence. Those who died in war were extolled in their dirges, and in the obsequies which were celebrated the sacrifices made to or for them lasted for a long time, accompanied by much feasting and intoxication. If the deceased had met death by violence, whether in war or in peace, by treachery, or in some other way, the mourning habits were not removed, or the interdict lifted, until the

sons, brothers, or relatives had killed many others – not only of the enemies and murderers, but also other persons, strangers, whoever they might be, who were not their friends. As robbers and pirates, they scoured the land and sea, going to hunt man and killing all whom they could, until they had satiated their fury. When this was done, they made a great feast for invited guests, raised the interdict, and, in due time, abandoned their mourning.

In all these practices may be clearly seen traces of the paganism and of those ancient rites and usages so magnified and recorded by noted writers, by which many other nations more civilized – and, perchance, some more barbarous than this one – made themselves famous and deserving of mention. Certainly balsams, and the perfumes, not only of ointments and fragrant spices, but of herbs and odoriferous flowers, are all known to have been in most ancient use among the Greeks and Romans, and in the Hebrew commonwealth – derived, perhaps, from intercourse with pagan peoples, as we read of it in the grave and burial of King Asa.⁹¹ The bathing of the dead and of those who touched them is also found in Holy Writ; and in accounts of the commonwealths of the Egyptians and Persians, and is practiced at the present day, among many nations; also the custom of placing food in their sepulchres, which is rebuked by St. Augustine.⁹²

⁹¹ Marginal references (of which some throughout this page of Chirino are too indefinite to be verified): *II Paralipomenon* (the appellation, in Roman Catholic versions of the Bible, of the books named "Chronicles" in the Protestant version), 16. Onuphrius, book 2.

⁹² Marginal references: *Fastorum Plutarchi in Sylla*. Plinius, book 11, chap. 10. *Ecclesiastes*, 34. *Sermo* 15 of St. Jerome, 9.

Who does not know that the men and women hired as mourners are the mourners and singers whom the sacred authors so repeatedly mention? and that, even before the commonwealth of the Hebrews was established by God our Lord, the holy Job called upon those who were ready to fulfil this office and to raise their voices in wailing and lamentation for anyone who would hire them, to lament the day of his birth as if it had been the day of his death?" This practice extended later to an infinite number of nations, especially to the Canaanites, who formed their troop of singers and musicians, and, with much skill and effect, mourned the deceased, as they did at Sifara – the mother beginning to intone a chant, which was then taken up by those most learned and skilled in that office."

The preservation of bodies, as far as possible, from corruption is a common practice among all those nations who desired and attempted to perpetuate the memory of their dead by burning the bodies and preserving their ashes; by erecting sumptuous mausoleums or pyramids (in their estimation, eternal); or by engraving in bronze or hard stone the names and deeds of their dead.

Burial in the house of the deceased was a custom of the Ethiopians; and burial at their gates, of the Persians. The adornment of the corpse with jewels and rich garments was practiced by the Hebrews, Persians, and Indians, and, before their time, by all the eastern Arabs of the age and country of holy Job;

⁹³ Marginal references: *II Paralipomenon*, 35. *Job*, 3. Aristotle, cited by Varro, book 6.

⁹⁴ Marginal references: *Judges*, 4, and thereon Procopius of Gaza – probably a reference to his commentaries, *Commentarii in Octateuchum* (a Latin translation; Tiguri, 1555).

they filled their houses (which were rather their sepulchres than their abodes) with treasures of gold and silver.⁶⁶ The custom of placing in the mouth of the corpse gold or other means for the purchase of necessities and, in particular, of a safe passage, is much ridiculed by Lucian, in those ancients of theirs negotiating for the boat and ferry of Charon; and indeed it served no other end than to excite the covetousness of those who, to profit by the gold, opened the sepulchres and disinterred the dead – as Hyrcanus and Herod desecrated the grave of David, and the Ternates did in Bohol, as we shall later see.⁶⁷

As for the banquets, they were precisely those which occurred at the ancient festivals and funeral feasts practiced by all countries and nations, sacred and profane.⁶⁷

The observance of silence seems to be what not only the profane writers meant by summoning mortals to the shades and darkness, mute and silent; but what the sacred writers intended in calling death and dead men mute.

In the sacred tongue they called the sepulchre itself “silence,”⁶⁸ or “the place of silence” – on account both of the dumbness of the deceased, who was no

⁶⁶ Marginal references: *Herodotus and Diodorus*, book 3. Pineda's *Job*, 3, v. 16 – the *Commentarium in Job libri tredecim* of Joannes de Pineda (of Sevilla).

⁶⁷ Marginal references: Josephus, *Antiquitates*, book 13, chap. 15; book 16, chap. 11. Gregorius Giraldus, *Syntagma de funeribus*. Eustatius, on Homer, p. 393 – referring to one of the works on Homer by Eustathius of Thessalonica.

⁶⁷ Marginal references: Athenæus, book 7. Alessandro Sardi (of Ferrara), *De moribus ac ritibus gentium libri III* (Venetiis, 1557).

⁶⁸ A side note in the original gives the Hebrew דומה *duma*, which means “silences,” and hence “sepulchres.”

longer able to have intercourse with the living, and of the silence and wonder in which the living remained, their grief for the dead, and the solitude in which they sat, depriving them of voice and speech; even more effectual for this was the consideration of the wretchedness, insignificance, and transientness of their own species, which they saw in their neighbor, friend or relative, when in so evil a plight, a threat and warning to them of a like fate.⁹⁹ In short, since all these usages arose, partly from some confused perception or conjecture of the natural reason, partly (and more probably) from the blindness and madness into which the devil plunged them, those islanders practiced rites and customs similar to those of former times and nations, for they too were men, subject to the same deception. Truly in this, as in a thousand other things, is verified that grave saying and query of the Wise Man: "What is it that is now happening?" and he answers himself, saying, "That which happened in the past." Again he asks himself: "What were the customs of our ancestors?" and again he replies, "Those which will be, and which those who are yet unborn will practice."¹⁰⁰ The same I would say of the following.

*Of feasting and intoxication among the Filipinos.
Chapter XXXIV.*

The time for their feasts, wherein they ate and drank to excess (and they drank, too, much more

⁹⁹ Marginal references: Virgil, *Æneid*, 6. Hosea, 10, v. 15. Pineda's *Job*, 3, v. 13.

¹⁰⁰ A marginal note refers to Ecclesiastes, 1; but it is not quoted directly by Chirino, who seems only to use it as a suggestion for his own thought.

than they ate), was, as we have said, upon occasions of illness, death, and mourning. Such was also their custom at betrothals, weddings, and sacrifices, and with guests and visitors. Upon all these occasions there was not a door closed against anyone who might desire to go to drink with them – for they designate a feast by the term “drinking,” not “eating.” In the feasts which they held upon occasions of sacrifice, they were wont to place at one side of the table a plate, upon which he who chose would throw, by way of religious ceremony, some mouthful of food, which he refrained from eating out of respect to the anito. They eat, sitting in a low position; and their tables are small, low, and round or square in shape, without covering or napkins, the plates containing the victuals being placed on the table itself. They eat in groups of sufficient number to surround the table; and it may happen that a house is filled from one end to another with tables, and guests drinking. The food is placed all together upon various plates, and they have no hesitation in putting the hands of all into the same dish, or in drinking out of the same vessel. They eat but little, drink often, and spend much time in the feast. When they are satiated with food and intoxicated with the drink, they remove the tables and clear the house; and, if the feast is not one of mourning, they sing, play musical instruments, dance, and in this way, spend days and nights, with great uproar and shouting – until finally they fall, exhausted and drowsy. But they are never seen to become, in their intoxication, so frenzied or crazed that they commit excesses; on the contrary, they preserve, in the main, their ordinary conduct, and even under the influence of wine, act with as much respect

and prudence as before, although they are naturally more lively and talkative, and utter witty remarks. It is proverbial among us that none of them, upon leaving the feast late at night in a state of intoxication, fails to reach his home. Moreover, if they have occasion to buy or sell anything, they not only make no mistake in the bargaining, but if it be necessary to weigh the gold or silver for the price (which is the common usage among those nations, each person carrying for that purpose a small pair of scales in his wallet), they do it with such accuracy that the hand never trembles, nor is there any error in the weight.

Of the labors of Father Juan de Torres and Father Gabriel Sanchez in the island of Bohol. Chapter XXXV.

All these evils and excesses were abandoned when our fathers entered that island, for after their arrival there God our Lord brought it about that the wonted songs and noises were no longer heard, the natives abstaining from them in order not to displease the fathers. The greatest difficulty which one encounters among those peoples is to teach the prayers to the adults, who are naturally lazy and negligent; and to the old men, who are hindered by their age. The plan and method which is followed in this matter is, not to constrain them too much. In this regard the Boholans acted with such liberality that our fathers, upon arriving at some villages, found the old men learning, of their own free will, the prayers from their children. When asked if they wished to become Christians, they answered that they were already preparing themselves, and that after they had

learned what was needful, they would receive holy baptism. So well were they inclined toward the good. They have excellent dispositions; and whenever any good habit or civilized custom is taught to them, they do not fail to practice it—which is no small pleasure and comfort for those who teach them.

In the church they conduct themselves devoutly and reverently, kneeling on both knees with hands clasped across their breasts. They attend baptismal services, at the conclusion of which they embrace the newly-baptized and, kneeling, recite with these a "Salve," as a token of thanksgiving. A pestilence, attended by pains in the stomach and head, had attacked this people, and was so fatal that entire villages of the island were being depopulated. But our Christians, in the ardor of their faith, took holy water as a medicine and were healed, so that not one of them died. An instance of this occurred, which I shall relate. An infidel woman was reduced by this sickness to such a pass that they did not expect her to live throughout the night. They summoned the father, and representing to him the woman's danger, besought him urgently to baptize her at once. The father did not think that such haste was necessary, or, at least, that the sick woman was entirely prepared for holy baptism, and so contented himself with repeating to her some of the catechism appropriate to the occasion, to wait until morning came. As a further kindness, in order to cure her body, he asked her if she believed that the holy water, by virtue of Almighty God, our Creator, could heal the sick. Upon her answering "Yes," he gave her some to drink, and with that left her. In the morning they came to tell him that she whom they had regarded as

half dead was already healed. A little girl had been reduced by the same disease to the last extremity, and they were already bewailing her as dead; the father hastened to the spot and grieving lest she should die without the sacraments, asked for holy water, that he might give her a possible remedy for body as well as soul. Seeing that the child was unable to drink it, he asked those who were present if they believed that God our Lord, and not their idols, could by means of that water give health to the sick one, and all answered "Yes." The water was then applied to that part where they said the child felt the greatest pain; and, consoling her parents with good hopes, he left her; and within a few hours they sent to tell him that the child was well. Accordingly, they use this holy medicine frequently in all their sicknesses, and it has become a general practice throughout all these islands. I have often seen an Indian woman approach the basin of holy water with her babe in arms, and taking some in her hands, give it to the little one to drink, so ordinary and universal is this devotion.


In Bohol, within only eight months, they gained the village of Baclayun with its hamlets (which was the first station that our Society maintained in that island), besides the villages of Lobo (which is a river of much volume), where more than three thousand souls were instructed and catechized, as well as many in the villages of two other islands adjacent to Bohol. In all those places were baptized a large number of those best prepared and able to receive the sacrament, among them the good old Catunao (whom we mentioned above) with his wife. Between the two, they surely had lived two hundred and

thirty years, and the woman was younger than he. Our Lord did not see fit to take him away until He had repaid him for his good services in having been the guide who introduced Christian people into the Filipinas. He was always seated, for he could no longer walk. So satisfied was he at being baptized that during the remainder of his life (which was little more than a year) he was continually repeating, with much delight, "Jesus, Mary."

Of the Island of Mindanao. Chapter XXXVI.

Mindanao is closer to the equinoctial line than the islands of Ibabao, Leite, Sebu, and Bohol, and is larger than almost all those four together. I shall say no more of its richness and fertility than that it is not inferior to the most fertile of all of them. Besides that, it is this island only that abounds in civet and cinnamon. The cinnamon grows among the mountains, and the civet is obtained in large quantities from the many civet-cats which only this island breeds. The natives in nearly all of the island are friendly; but in the southern part along the river of Mindanao (which they call, and is, another Nile in its grandeur and breadth), the people, with those of some adjoining districts, are rebellious and turbulent, and are enticed by the Ternatans, who have introduced there the doctrine of Mahoma. As a result, both of those peoples are enemies, not only to us, but to our friends in the same island. An incident occurred there which I shall not fail to relate, to show the valor of those islanders. While the Spaniards had their camps and garrisons stationed on this river, together with some vessels anchored in the water, there was celebrated the marriage of a friendly chief

with the daughter, or the sister, of another chief who dwelt farther up the river; and the commander of that camp, as a token of friendship, undertook to honor this event by despatching two galliots up the stream to convey the bride. The Mahometan enemy, Silongan, who dwelt in the district through which they must pass, upon learning that our people had gone by, and when they were to return, made no attempt to hinder their passage with the bride, although they were actually at open war with us; but he went unprotected to the bank of the river with dignified pace and sober garb, carrying a fan, and gazing with much interest on the galliots and their passengers. Recognizing him, our soldiers in the arrogance of youth, and in hatred to the enemy, applied their matches, and fired a few shots. The bullets, which were generously aimed at his feet, did not touch him, although they fell near by; nor did they cause in him any more agitation or anger than if the matter were some jest which he disregarded. This was the courage of an enemy – one of the dwellers in the southern part of the island; I will relate an instance of valor in a friendly native, an inhabitant of the northern region of Mindanao. A man went out from Botuan to fish upon the sea, embarking with his wife and children in two separate boats. On returning to land when the fishing was over, the man with his boat was somewhat farther from the shore; and the wife, with their children in her boat, made more haste to reach the land, on account of some vessels of Ternatans, which were coasting from point to point – their enemies and ours, as I have said. These invaders, seeing their prey alone and defenseless, were not willing to lose it; accordingly, some of them



went in a little skiff, and seized the woman and the children, carrying them away captive. The poor wretch who had been thus despoiled, reached the shore some distance behind them; and seeing that he could not overtake them, began to shout to them, standing on the beach, and was able to utter such insults to the robber – calling him a coward, who laid his hands on women and children alone – that he compelled the other to take up the challenge. He added, that if he himself should be overcome, his wife and children would not be unjustly plundered from him, but fairly won as spoils by dint of a valiant arm. The Ternatan (who was no less spirited than valiant) came to land, at this provocation, with the woman and the children. Having placed the latter at one side, they furiously began their combat; but as the native of Botuan was not only courageous, but fought with justice on his side, that circumstance so aided him that, after some attempts, he killed his adversary with two spear-thrusts, and departed in contentment with his wife and children, whom he had gained anew.

The southern part of the island fell to the lot of Father Valerio de Ledesma and Father Manuel Martinez, who went there early in November of the year fifteen hundred and ninety-six. There not only did the demons, upon their arrival, offer them visible opposition, trying to affright and terrify them at night with horrible sights and sounds – such as they are wont to display when God our Lord permits them – but they found the inhabitants by no means tractable, on account of their fierce and violent natures. But this was a sort of test to which our Lord subjected them in order that He might soon console

them by the conversion of many chiefs – especially that of one whom they had least expected to yield on account of his fierce and warlike character and the terror which he inspired throughout the region. This conversion was most edifying, and occurred in the following manner. On a certain Sunday the fathers invited the people to come to the church on the following Sunday, enjoining them not to fail to be present; they heeded this injunction faithfully, repairing to the church in great numbers. There they formed a class of all the children, and under the guidance of one of the fathers, who bore a cross, they marched in good order to a spot where were explained to them some of the mysteries of our holy faith; thence they returned to the church, where, before an assemblage of all the people, Father Manuel Martinez preached a sermon. Our Lord inspired his words with such force that he subdued their hearts, so hard and obstinate; and in the very middle of the sermon Elian (for such was his name) fell upon his knees, and eagerly and strenuously sought baptism. This sight greatly affected many Spaniards who were present, as well as the Indians who beheld this great change in their chief (whom they greatly respected), and they were all moved to tears. This emotion was increased by the action of the superior, Father Valerio de Ledesma, who, having remained among the others to hear the sermon, arose, while the audience were overcome by such emotion and wonder, drew forth a crucifix, and, holding it in his hands, showed the great obligations which we are under to that Lord who gave up his life for our deliverance. By this means he enkindled even more the fire, and aroused the force of heroic determination for


right in Elian, who at last approached the holy crucifix and kissed its feet with profound reverence; and after him Osol and others performed the same pious act. Thereupon Elian, desirous that he might not lose time in a matter which so deeply concerned him, publicly announced that anyone whom he owed, or to whom he might be under any obligation, might come to him and be paid therefor. He divorced all but one of his wives, and returning to each one the gold that was due for her dowry, sent them all back to their homes. He himself remained in our house to learn the prayers and catechism, in order to receive baptism sooner. This conversion was a great help to the others, who followed his example, saying: "If the father of us all is becoming a Christian, what else is left for us to do?" A few days after that, our fathers, having found this method and plan of converting these peoples successful, gained another chief, from a different district, by practically the same measures. The conversion of this chief, and the condition of the Christian community there, are told by Father Valerio de Ledesma in a clause of one of his letters, thus: "Thanks to God, all the river is now seeking baptism, and one may hear nothing else but the chanting of the doctrine throughout the village and in the houses, whether the people labor, or row, or walk about. I have visited all the houses, without exception, and have so allotted the children who know the doctrine that while working they may sing it and teach it to the others. As there are not enough boys for every house, I have made arrangements that those who live in neighboring houses should assemble in the chief of these, and respond to the boy who sings. In those houses of prominent persons the singing does not

cease, day or night. All this our Lord has accomplished, by subduing their headmen – especially Silongan, who by his many wives (six in number), and the large *buguei* (that is, the dowry) which he had given them, was held back as if by fetters: and yet he freed himself from his bonds, by divorcing the five wives, and keeping only his first one. Then, after a sermon by Father Manuel Martinez, he fell upon his knees in public, and sought baptism; thereupon I embraced him and drew forth a crucifix, which he adored. I encouraged him to persevere, and those who were looking on to imitate him; and at that it seemed as if all were conquered. On that day arrived a rich cargo of silk and gold; we baptized a son of his, and he himself will receive the sacrament when he shall learn the doctrine.” Here the letter ends.

In the month of April of the same year, Father Juan del Campo, with the brother Gaspar Gomez, had gone to the northern part of the island to the great river of Mindanao, accompanying Captain Estevan Rodriguez de Figueroa, governor of that island, who went with a well-equipped fleet to pacify the rebels and expel the cursed sect of Mahoma. The brother was soon obliged to return, for the purpose of conveying to Manila the body of the governor, who unfortunately died on the same day when he reached Mindanao. Father Juan del Campo was left alone with the army, enduring many hardships with the soldiers, and accomplishing good results among them, as well as among the friendly Indians, about which he wrote a copious narrative. While so engaged death found him, and carried him away – as I believe, when he was certain of enjoying life – three months

and a half after his arrival at Mindanao. Although he died alone and without the sacraments, as there was no one to administer them, he met death with great edification, leaving in that camp a sweet odor of sanctity, and the title of a true servant of God. He was a native of Sevilla, thirty-three years of age and had spent eight years in the religious life; he was overflowing with fervor, and so zealous for the good of souls that all – whether Indians, Negroes, Spaniards, Chinese, or other peoples – ever found him disposed to consider himself their debtor, and to succor them with the utmost willingness and alacrity, for which reason he was burdened with many toils and painful nights. He never lay down for the purpose of slumber, but only when sleep seized him unawares in the midst of his occupations. He possessed the gift of languages, by which I mean that he learned many with great facility. He also had the gift of ministering to various peoples and those of different classes at the same time, thoroughly satisfying them all. At times he delivered three discourses or sermons to the Spaniards in one day, because the occasion demanded it. At the same time he did not neglect the Indians with all their variety of tribes and tongues. It was a providence of our Lord that he remained alive after the decease of the governor; for with his good judgment and kindly disposition he not only consoled and animated the army, but was of great service to them, and gave them wise advice, in matters of importance which required careful management. He scourged himself every morning when he arose for prayer, and almost always wore a hair-cloth shirt. He never ate supper, that he might be better prepared for his prolonged vigils, study, and

prayers. In fine, he employed so well the short time that he spent in the religious life that I am sure that it was equivalent to a service of many years. He lectured on rhetoric in our college of Avila and was able to give instruction in theology. He fulfilled this office most satisfactorily and profitably to his students, for his intellect and erudition were very profound. On holidays and feast-days he rested by going from village to village, preaching each day two, three, or four sermons. His manner of treating persons was very gracious, and consequently he aroused all Avila to fervor, ecclesiastics as well as laymen. All regarded him as their apostle and teacher, and so treated him, whether present or absent. Leaving that employment, he went forth to the Filipinas, where he arrived, as we have said, in June of the year one thousand five hundred and ninety-five. During the voyage he was not idle, but rather kindled the fervor of all on the ship with discourses and sermons, as I was told in his praise by the commander of the fleet, and by the father commissary of the Holy Office in the province of Pintados, the associate of the right reverend bishop of Sebu. I conducted him to Leite where I left him with Father Cosme de Flores as foundation-stones of Christianity in that region, where they accomplished the fruitful results that I have described. In Mindanao his greatest affliction was to find himself alone, foreseeing, from his great labors and little strength, that he had not long to live, and knowing that at his death he had no one who might aid and console him. He thus expressed himself a very few days before he died, to a soldier to whom he had just administered extreme unction: "Render thanks to God that you have had some one



to administer to you at this hour the holy sacraments; unhappy wretch am I, who have no one to do as much for me." But God our Lord, who is a faithful friend, supplied this want, according him a glorious death, with abundant consolation from heaven. A few of his pious and devout followers received his body, burying it in the very chapel where he celebrated mass – without funeral rites, but with grief and tears, and concern that his bones should be preserved until borne to a more worthy resting place. This was done as soon as his death was made known; his remains were carried to Sebu, and laid in our church, and solemn obsequies were celebrated. It fell to me to make this journey, accompanied by Father Juan de Sanlucar, who went as superior. The latter seeing that there was but little inclination among those Indians for conversion as long as the Mahometan rebels remained unsubdued, and that we were being occupied, not with them, but with the soldiers of the camp, ministering to them as curas (the office of a secular priest rather than ours), although he continued these labors for almost a year (for I had returned immediately with the remains), was finally obliged to retire from the field. The camp was also withdrawn, and their fort there was dismantled.

(To be concluded.)



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6. *Letters from Benavides*.—The same as No. 5.

7. *Letters from the Audiencia and fiscal*, July, 1603.—The same as No. 1.

8. *Letter from Acuña*, July 20, 1603.—"Simancas—Secular; Audiencia de Filipinas; cartas y expedientes del gobernador de Filipinas vistos en el Consejo; años de 1600 á 1628; est. 67, caj. 6, leg. 7."

9. *Letters from ecclesiastics*, December, 1603.—"Simancas—Eclesiastico; cartas y expedientes de personas eclesiasticas vistos en el Consejo; años 1570 á 1608; est. 68, caj. 1, leg. 42."

10. *Uprising of the Sangleys*.—(a) Letter from the Audiencia: the same as No. 1. (b) Letter from Santa Catalina: the same as No. 9. (c) Letter from Benavides: the same as No. 5. (d) Letters from Acuña: the same as No. 8.

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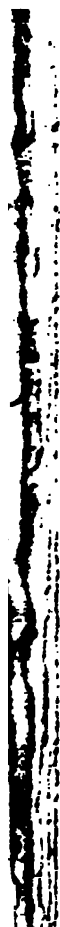
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